









H. Clay

THE
LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES
OF
HENRY CLAY.

BY EPES SARGENT, ESQ.

NEW EDITION,
REVISED, ENLARGED, AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE YEAR 1848,
BY THE AUTHOR.

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TO
DR. WILLIAM TURNER,
OF NEW YORK,

At whose suggestion this *LIFE OF HENRY CLAY* was originally written,
it is now gratefully Dedicated.

PREFACE.

THE first edition of this work appeared, during the autumn of 1842, at which time, there was no published memoir of Mr. Clay (so far as the writer's knowledge extended) except that by George D. Prentice, Esq., which terminates with the close of John Quincy Adams's administration. To this eloquent biographical sketch, the Author takes pleasure in acknowledging his indebtedness, for a number of interesting facts.

The new and improved edition of his "*LIFE OF CLAY*," now offered to the public, has been carefully revised—some errors have been corrected—several omissions have been supplied—and the Memoir has been brought down to the spring of 1848.

It is hardly necessary to say, that the portrait, which accompanies this edition, is from a painting by LINEN, taken some twenty years since. It was regarded as a likeness at that time.

E. S.

ROXBURY, MASS., }
March, 1848. }

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THE LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF HENRY CLAY.

CHAPTER I.

Birth and Parentage—His early days—The Mill-boy of the Slashes—Studies Law—Hears Patrick Henry—Removes to Kentucky—Debut at a Debating Society—Becomes a successful Practitioner—Cases in which he distinguishes himself—He advocates the policy of gradually Emancipating the Slaves in Kentucky—Opposes the Alien and Sedition Laws—Is elected to the General Assembly—Instances of his Eloquence—Affair with Col. Daviess—Appears at the Bar for Aaron Burr—Subsequent Interview with Burr in New-York.

HENRY CLAY is a native of Hanover county, Virginia. He was born on the 12th of April, 1777, in a district of country familiarly known in the neighborhood as the *Slashes*. His father, a Baptist clergyman, died during the revolutionary war, bequeathing a small and much embarrassed estate and seven children, of whom Henry was the fifth, to the care of an affectionate mother. The surviving parent did not possess the means to give her sons a classical education; and the subject of our memoir received no other instruction than such as could be obtained in the log-cabin school-houses, still common in the lower parts of Virginia, at which spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic are taught.

In 1792, his mother, who had become united, in a second marriage, with Mr. Henry Watkins, removed to Woodford county, Kentucky, taking all her children, with the exception of Henry and his oldest brother. It was always a subject of regret with Mr. Clay, that he was deprived at so early an age of his mother's counsel, conversation and care. She was a woman of great strength of mind, and was tenderly attached to her children.

He had been only five years old when he lost his father; and, consequently, his circumstances in early life, if not actually indigent, were such as to subject him frequently to hard manual labor. He has ploughed in cornfields, many a summer day, without shoes, and with no other clothes on than a pair of Osnaburg trowsers and a coarse shirt. He has often gone to mill with grain to be ground into meal or flour; and there are those who remember his youthful visits to Mrs. Darricott's mill, on the Pamunkey river. On such occasions he generally rode a horse without a saddle, while a rope sup-

plied the place of a bridle. But in the absence of a more splendid equipment, a bag containing three or four bushels of wheat or corn was generally thrown across the horse's back, mounted upon which the future statesman would go to mill, get the grain ground, and return with it home.

At the age of fourteen, he was placed in a small retail store, kept by Mr. Richard Denny, near the market-house in the city of Richmond. He remained here till the next year, (1792,) when he was transferred to the office of the Clerk of the High Court of Chancery, Mr. Peter Tinsley. There he became acquainted with the venerable Chancellor Wythe, attracted his friendly attention, and enjoyed the benefit of his instruction and conversation. The Chancellor being unable to write well, in consequence of the gout or rheumatism in his right thumb, bethought himself of employing his young friend as an amanuensis. This was a fortunate circumstance for the fatherless boy. His attention was thus called to the structure of sentences, as he wrote them down from the dictation of his employer; and a taste for the study of grammar was created which was noticed and encouraged by the Chancellor, upon whose recommendation he read Harris's *Hermes*, Tooke's *Diversions of Purley*, Bishop Lowth's *Grammar*, and other similar works.

For his handwriting, which is still remarkably neat and regular, Mr. Clay was chiefly indebted to Mr. Tinsley. Chancellor Wythe was devoted to the study of Greek. He was at one time occupied in preparing reports of his decisions, and commenting upon those of the Court of Appeals, by which some of his were reversed; and in this work he was assisted by his amanuensis. After the reports were published, he sent copies to Mr. Jefferson, John Adams, Samuel Adams, and others. In these copies he employed Henry Clay to copy particular passages from Greek authors, to whom references had been made. Not understanding a single Greek character, the young copyist had to transcribe by imitation letter after letter.

Leaving the office of Mr. Tinsley the latter part of 1796, he went to reside with the late Robert Brooke, Esq., the Attorney General, formerly Governor of Virginia. His only regular study of the law was during the year 1797, that he lived with Mr. Brooke; but it was impossible that he should not, in the daily scenes he witnessed, and in the presence of the eminent men whom he so often heard and saw, be in the way of gathering much valuable legal information. During his residence of six or seven years in Richmond, he became acquainted with all or most of the eminent Virginians of the period, who lived in that city, or were in the habit of resorting to it—with Edmund Pendleton, Spencer Roane, Chief Justice Marshall, Bushrod Washington, Wickham, Call, Copeland, &c. On two occasions, he had the good fortune to hear Patrick Henry—once, before the Circuit Court of the United States for the Virginia District, on the question of the payment of the British debts; and again before the House of Delegates of Virginia, on a claim of the supernumerary officers in the service of the State during the Revolutionary War. Mr. Clay remembers that remarkable man, his appearance and his manner, distinctly. The impression of his eloquent powers remaining on his mind is, that their charm consisted mainly in one of the finest voices ever heard, in his graceful gesticulation, and the variety and force of expression which he exhibited in his face.

Henry Clay quitted Richmond in November, 1797, his eldest brother having died while he yet resided in that city. Bearing a license from the Judges of the Virginia Court of Appeals to practise law, he established himself in Lexington, Kentucky. He was without patrons, without the countenance of influential friends, and destitute of the means of paying his weekly board. "I remember," says he, in his speech of June, 1842, at Lexington, "how comfortable I thought I should be, if I could make £100 Virginia money per year; and with what delight I received the first fifteen shilling fee. My hopes were more than realized. I immediately rushed into a lucrative practice."

Before assuming the active responsibilities of his profession, he devoted himself with assiduity several months to his legal studies. Even at that period the bar of Lexington was eminent for its ability. Among its members were George Nicholas, James Hughes, John Breckenridge, James Brown, William Murray, and others, whose reputation was sufficient to discourage the most stout-hearted competition. But true genius is rarely unaccompanied by a consciousness of its power; and the friendless and unknown youth from Virginia fearlessly entered the field, which, to a less intrepid spirit, would have seemed pre-occupied. He soon commanded consideration and respect. He was familiar with the technicalities of practice; and early habits of business and application, enabled him to effect an easy mastery of the cases entrusted to his charge. His subtle appreciation of character, knowledge of human nature, and faculties of persuasion, rendered him peculiarly successful in his appeals to a jury; and he obtained great celebrity for his adroit and careful management of criminal cases.

An anecdote is related of him about the time of his first entrance upon his profession, which shows

that, notwithstanding his fine capacities, he had some native diffidence to overcome before they were fairly tested. He had joined a debating society, and at one of the meetings the vote was about to be taken upon the question under discussion, when he remarked in a low but audible whisper, that the subject did not appear to him to *have been exhausted*.

"Do not put the question yet—Mr. Clay will speak," exclaimed a member, who had overheard the half hesitating remark.

The chairman instantly took the hint, and nodded to the young lawyer in token of his readiness to hear what he had to say. With every indication of extreme embarrassment, he rose, and, in his confusion, began by saying: "*Gentlemen of the Jury*"—unconsciously addressing his fellow-members as the tribunal, to which he had perhaps often made imaginary appeals in his dreams of a successful début at the bar. His audience did not add to his agitation by seeming to notice it, and, after floundering and blushing for a moment or two, and stammering out a repetition of the words "*Gentlemen of the Jury*," he suddenly shook off all signs of distrust and timidity, and launched into his subject with a promptitude and propriety of elocution, which excited general surprise.

To those familiar with the perfect self-possession of Mr. Clay's manner in after life upon all occasions, the most trying and unexpected, this instance will present an amusing contrast; for the evidence is not on record of his ever having failed for an instant in his resources of repartee or of argument in debate.

Shortly after this early essay in public speaking, he was admitted as a practitioner before the Fayette Court of Quarter Sessions, a court of general jurisdiction. Business soon poured in upon him, and during the first term he had a handsome practice. His manners and address, both in personal intercourse and before a jury, were unusually captivating. Frank in avowing his sentiments, and bold and consistent in maintaining them, he laid the foundation of a character for sincerity and honor, which amid all the shocks of political changes and the scurrility of partizan warfare, has never been shaken or tainted. In the possession of these attributes, beyond the reach of cavil or of question, is to be found the secret of that inalienable attachment among the vast body of his friends, which has followed him throughout his career.

One of the most important cases, in which Mr. Clay was engaged during the first three or four years of his professional life, was that in which he was employed to defend a Mrs. Phelps, indicted for murder. This woman was the wife of a respectable farmer, and until the time of the act for which she was arraigned, had led a blameless and correct life. One day, in her own house, taking some offence at a Miss Phelps, her sister-in-law, she levelled a gun, and shot her through the heart. The poor girl had only time to exclaim, "Sister, you have killed me," and expired. Great interest was excited in the case, and the Court was crowded to overflowing on the day of trial. Of the fact of the homicide there could be no doubt. It was committed in the presence of witnesses, and the only question was to what class of crimes did the offence belong. If it were pronounced murder in the first degree, the life of the wretched prisoner would be the forfeit; but, if manslaughter, she

would be punished merely by confinement in the gaol or penitentiary. The legal contest was long and able. The efforts of the counsel for the prosecution were strenuous and earnest; but Mr. Clay succeeded not only in saving the life of his client, but so moved the jury in her behalf by his eloquence, that her punishment was made as light as the law would allow. He gained much distinction by the ability he displayed in this case, and thenceforth it was considered a great object to enlist his assistance in all criminal suits on the part of the defendant. It is a singular fact, that in the course of a very extensive practice in the courts of criminal jurisprudence, and in the defence of a large number of individuals arraigned for capital offences, he never had one of his clients sentenced to death.

Another case, in which he acquired scarcely less celebrity, was shortly afterward tried in Harrison County. Two Germans, father and son, had been indicted for murder. The deed of killing was proved to the entire satisfaction of the Court, and was considered an aggravated murder. Mr. Clay's efforts were therefore directed to saving their lives. The trial occupied five days, and his closing appeal to the jury was of the most stirring and pathetic description. It proved irresistible, for they returned a verdict of manslaughter. Not satisfied with this signal triumph, he moved an arrest of judgment, and, after another day's contest, prevailed in this also. The consequence was, that the prisoners were discharged without even the punishment of the crime, of which the jury had found them guilty.

An amusing incident occurred at the conclusion of this trial. An old, withered, ill-favored German woman, who was the wife of the elder prisoner, and the mother of the younger, on being informed of the success of the final motion for an arrest of judgment, and the consequent acquittal of her husband and son, ran toward the young advocate, in the excess of her gratitude and joy, and throwing her arms about his neck, kissed him in the eyes of the crowded court. Although taken wholly by surprise, and hardly flattered by blandishments from such a source, young Clay acquitted himself upon the occasion, with a grace and good humor, which won him new applause from the spectators. All great emotions claim respect; and in this instance so far did the sympathies of the audience go with the old woman as to divest of ridicule an act, which, in the recital, may seem to have partaken principally of the ludicrous.

Notwithstanding his extraordinary success in all the criminal suits entrusted to him, the abilities displayed by Mr. Clay at this period in civil cases were no less brilliant and triumphant. In suits growing out of the land laws of Virginia and Kentucky, he was especially distinguished; rapidly acquiring wealth and popularity by his practice. It is related of him, that on one occasion, in conjunction with another attorney, he was employed to argue, in the Fayette Circuit Court, a question of great difficulty—one in which the interests of the litigant parties were deeply involved. At the opening of the court, something occurred to call him away, and the whole management of the case devolved on his associate counsel. Two days were spent in discussing the points of law, which were to govern the instructions of the Court to the jury, and

on all of these points, Mr. Clay's colleague was foiled by his antagonist. At the end of the second day, Mr. Clay re-entered the Court. He had not heard a word of the testimony, and knew nothing of the course which the discussion had taken; but, after holding a very short consultation with his colleague, he drew up a statement of the form in which he wished the instructions of the Court to be given to the jury, and accompanied his petition with a few observations, so entirely novel and satisfactory, that it was granted without the least hesitation. A corresponding verdict was instantly returned; and thus the case, which had been on the point of being decided against Mr. Clay's client, resulted in his favor in less than half an hour after the young lawyer had entered the Court-house.

For an enumeration of the various cases in which Mr. Clay was about this time engaged, and in which his success was as marked as his talents were obvious, we must refer the curious reader to the records of the Courts of Kentucky, and hasten to exhibit the subject of our memoir on that more extended field, where his history began to be interwoven with the history of his country, and a whole nation hailed him as a champion worthy of the best days of the Republic.

As early as 1797, when the people of Kentucky were about electing a Convention to form a new Constitution for that State, Mr. Clay may be said to have commenced his political career. His first efforts were made on behalf of human liberty, and at the risk of losing that breeze of popular favor, which was wafting on his bark bravely toward that haven of worldly prosperity and renown.

The most important feature in the plan for a new Constitution, submitted to the people of Kentucky, was a provision for the prospective eradication of slavery from the State by means of a gradual emancipation of those held in bondage. Against this proposal a tremendous outcry was at once raised. It was not to be questioned that the voice of the majority was vehemently opposed to it. But young Clay did not hesitate as to his course. In that spirit of self-sacrifice, which he has since displayed on so many occasions, in great public emergencies, without stopping to reckon the disadvantages to himself, he boldly arrayed himself on the side of those friendly to emancipation. In the canvass, which preceded the election of members of the Convention, he exerted himself with all the energy of his nature in behalf of that cause, which he believed to be the cause of truth and justice. With his voice and pen he actively labored to promote the choice of Delegates who were pledged to its support. He failed in the fulfilment of his philanthropic intentions, and incurred temporary unpopularity by his course. Time, however, is daily making more apparent the wisdom of his counsel.

Mr. Clay has not faltered in his views upon this great question. They are now what they were in 1797. In maintaining the policy of this scheme of gradual emancipation he has ever been fearless and consistent. Let it not be imagined, however, that he has any sympathy with that incendiary spirit which would seem to actuate some of the clamorers for immediate and unconditional abolition at the present time. His views were far-sighted, statesman-like and sagacious. He looked to the general

good, not merely of his contemporaries but of posterity; and his plan stretched beyond the embarrassments of the present hour into the future. A more just, practicable and beneficent scheme than his, for the accomplishment of a consummation so devoutly to be wished by humanity at large, could not have been devised.

It resembled that adopted in Pennsylvania in the year 1780 at the instance of Dr. Franklin, according to which, the generation in being were to remain in bondage, but all their offspring, born after a specified day, were to be free at the age of twenty-eight, and, in the mean time, were to receive preparatory instruction to qualify them for the enjoyment of freedom. Mr. Clay thought, with many others, that as the slave States had severally the right to judge, every one exclusively for itself, in respect to the institution of domestic slavery, the proportion of slaves to the white population in Kentucky at that time was so inconsiderable, that a system of gradual emancipation might have been adopted without any hazard to the security and interests of the commonwealth.

Recently a charge was made by the principal opposition paper at the South, that Mr. Clay had joined the Abolitionists; and the ground of the charge was the averment that he had written a letter to Mr. Giddings, of Ohio, approving the leading views of that party. Upon inquiry, it appeared, however, that the letter was written by Cassius M. Clay, a namesake. In noticing the erroneous statement, Mr. Clay remarked, in a letter to a friend—"I do not write letters for different latitudes. I have but one heart, and one mind; and all my letters are but copies of the original, and if genuine, will be found to conform to it, wherever they may be addressed."

Would that every candidate for the Presidency might say this with equal sincerity and truth!

Notwithstanding the failure of his exertions in arresting the continuance of negro servitude in Kentucky, Mr. Clay has never shrunk from the avowal of his sentiments upon the subject, nor from their practical manifestation in his professional and political career. For several years, whenever a slave brought an action at law for his liberty, Mr. Clay volunteered as his advocate: and he always succeeded in obtaining a decision in the slave's favor. Oppression in every shape would seem to have roused the most ardent sympathies of his soul, and to have enlisted his indignant eloquence in behalf of its unfriended object. The impulses, which urged him at this early day to take the part of the domestic bondsmen of his own State, were the same with those, by which he was instigated, when the questions of recognizing South American and Grecian Indebtedness were presented to the consideration of a tardy and calculating Congress.

During the administration of John Adams, in 1798-9, the famous alien and sedition laws were passed. The popular opposition with which these extraordinary measures were received, is still vividly remembered in the United States. By the "alien law," the President was authorized to order any alien, whom "he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety" of the country "to depart out of the territory within such time" as he should judge proper, upon penalty of being "imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years," &c.

The "sedition law" was designed to punish the abuse of speech of the press. It imposed a heavy pecuniary fine, and imprisonment for a term of years, upon such as should combine or conspire together to oppose any measure of Government: upon such as should write, print, utter, publish, &c., "any false, scandalous and malicious writing against the Government of the United States or the President," &c.

Mr. Clay stood forth one of the earliest champions of popular rights in opposition to these memorable laws. Kentucky was one of the first States that launched their thunders against them; and though many speakers came forward to give expression to the indignation which was swelling in the public heart, none succeeded so well in striking the responsive chord as our young lawyer. He was soon regarded as the leading spirit of the opposition party; and it was about this time that the title of "THE GREAT COMMONER" was bestowed upon him.

A gentleman, who was present at a meeting where these obnoxious laws were discussed, describes the effect produced by Mr. Clay's eloquence as difficult adequately to describe. The populace had assembled in the fields in the vicinity of Lexington, and were first addressed by Mr. George Nicholas, a distinguished man, and a powerful speaker. The speech of Mr. Nicholas was long and eloquent, and he was greeted by the most enthusiastic cheers as he concluded. Clay being called for, promptly appeared, and made one of the most extraordinary and impressive harangues ever addressed to a popular assembly. A striking evidence of its thrilling and effective character may be found in the fact that when he ceased, *there was no shout—no applause*. So eloquently had he interpreted the deep feelings of the multitude, that they forgot the orator in the absorbing emotions he had produced. A higher compliment can hardly be conceived. The theme was a glorious one for a young and generous mind, filled with ardor in behalf of human liberty—and he did it justice. The people took Clay and Nicholas upon their shoulders, and forcing them into a carriage, drew them through the streets, amid shouts of applause. What an incident for an orator, who had not yet completed his twenty second year!

Four years afterwards, when Mr. Clay was absent from the County of Fayette at the Olympian Springs, he was brought forward, without his knowledge or previous consent, as a candidate, and elected to the General Assembly of Kentucky. He soon made his influence felt in that body. In 1804, Mr. Felix Grundy, then an adroit and well-known politician, made an attempt in the Legislature to procure the repeal of a law incorporating the Lexington Insurance Office. He was opposed at every step by Mr. Clay; and the war of words between the youthful debaters drew to the hall of the House throngs of spectators. Grundy had managed to secure beforehand a majority in his favor in the House; but the members of the Senate flocked in to hear Clay speak, and so cogently did he present to their understandings the impolicy and unconstitutionality of the measure under discussion, that they refused to sanction it after it had been passed by the other branch and a virtual triumph was thus obtained.

It is recorded of Mr. Clay, that, in the course of the legislative session of 1805, he made an effort to

procure the removal of the seat of Government from Frankfort; and his speech on the occasion is said to have been an inimitable specimen of argument and humor. Frankfort is peculiar in its appearance and situation, being sunk, like a huge pit, below the surrounding country, and environed by rough and precipitous ledges. "We have," said Mr. Clay, "the model of an inverted hat; Frankfort is the body of the hat, and the lands adjacent are the brim. To change the figure, it is *nature's great penitentiary*; and if the members of this House would know the bodily condition of the prisoners, let him look at those poor creatures in the gallery."

As he said this, he pointed with his finger to half a dozen figures that chanced, at that moment, to be moving about in the gallery, more like animated skeletons than respectable compounds of flesh and blood. The objects thus designated, seeing the attention of the whole assembly suddenly directed towards them, dodged, with ludicrous haste, behind the railing, and the assembly was thrown into a convulsion of merriment. This *argumentum ad hominem* proved irresistible. The members of the House agreed that it was expedient to remove the seat of Government, but it was subsequently found impossible to decide upon a new location, and the Legislature continues to hold its sessions at Frankfort.

It was an early resolution of Mr. Clay, that no litigants, rich or poor, should have occasion to say that for the want of counsel they could not obtain justice at every bar where he could appear for them. Col. Joseph Hamilton Daviess, at that time United States District Attorney, and a man of influence and distinction, had committed an assault and battery at Frankfort on Mr. Bush, a respectable citizen, and a tavern-keeper at that place. The bar of Frankfort declined instituting an action for the latter against Col. D. Bush finally appealed to Henry Clay, who promptly undertook the case, and brought the suit in Lexington. In the argument of a preliminary question, Mr. Clay felt it his duty to admonish with some severity upon the conduct of Col. Daviess; whereupon the latter, after the adjournment of the Court, addressed a note to him, remonstrating against his course, and expressing a wish that it should not be persevered in. Mr. Clay immediately replied that he had undertaken the cause of Mr. Bush from a sense of duty; that he should submit to no dictation as to his management of it, which should be according to his own judgment exclusively; but that he should hold himself responsible for whatever he did or said, in or out of Court. A challenge ensued; Mr. Clay accepted it, and proceeded to Frankfort for the hostile meeting. There, by the interposition of mutual friends, the affair was accommodated in a manner honorable to both parties.

In the autumn of 1806, the celebrated Aaron Burr was arrested in Kentucky, on a charge of being engaged in an illegal warlike enterprise. The sagacity and penetration of that extraordinary man were never more clearly evinced than in his application to Mr. Clay to defend him. Mr. Clay believed, and it was generally believed in Kentucky, that the prosecution was groundless, and was instituted by Col. Daviess, whom we have already mentioned, who was a great admirer of Col. Hamilton, and who disliked Burr because he had killed Hamilton in a

duel, and was moreover, his opponent in politics. Mr. Clay felt a lively sympathy for Col. Burr, on account of his being arrested in a State distant from his own, on account of his misfortunes, and the distinguished stations he had filled. Still he declined appearing for him, until Burr gave him written assurances that he was engaged in no enterprise forbidden by law, and none that was not known and approved by the Cabinet at Washington. On receiving these assurances, Mr. Clay appeared for him; and thinking that Burr ought not to be dealt with as an ordinary culprit, he declined receiving from him any fee, although a liberal one was tendered.

Burr was acquitted. Mr. Clay shortly after proceeded to Washington, and received from Mr. Jefferson an account of the letter in cipher, which had been written by Burr to General Wilkinson, together with other information of the criminal designs of Burr. Mr. Clay handed the written assurances above mentioned to Mr. Jefferson at the request of the latter.

On his return from Ghent, Mr. Clay made a brief sojourn in the city of New-York, and visited, among other places of interest, the Federal Court, then in session, escorted by his friend, the late Mr. Smith, then Marshall, formerly a Senator from New-York. On entering the court-room, in the City Hall, the eyes of the bench, bar, officers, and attendants upon the Court, were turned upon Mr. C. who was invited to take a seat on the bench, which he politely declined, and took a position in the bar. Shortly after, a small gentleman, apparently advanced in years, and with bushy, gray hair, whom Mr. Clay for an instant did not recognize, approached him. He quickly perceived it was Col. Burr, who tendered his hand to salute Mr. Clay. The latter declined receiving it. The Colonel, nevertheless, was not repulsed, but engaged in conversation with Mr. Clay, remarking, that he had understood that, besides the treaty of peace, the American Commissioners had negotiated a good Commercial Convention with Great Britain. Mr. Clay replied coldly, that such a convention was concluded, and that its terms would be known as soon as it was promulgated by public authority. Col. B. expressed a wish to have an hour's interview with him, and Mr. C. told him where he stopped—but the Colonel never called. Thus terminated all the intercourse which ever took place between Henry Clay and Aaron Burr. And yet even out of materials like these Detraction has tried to manufacture weapons for its assaults!

CHAPTER II.

Elected to the Senate of the United States—His first Speech, in favor of Internal Improvements—Is chosen Speaker of the Kentucky House of Assembly—Speeches and Reports—Resolutions in favor of American Manufactures—Duel with Humphrey Marshall—His sentiments in regard to Duelling—Takes his seat a second time in the United States Senate—Speaks in behalf of Domestic Manufactures—Lays the foundation of the American System—Speech on the line of the Perdido—Labors of the Session—Third Session of the Eleventh Congress—The United States Bank—He becomes a member of the United States House of Representatives—Is chosen Speaker on the first ballot—Critical state of Public Affairs—Is in favor of a War with Great Britain—Speech on the bill for raising Troops—On a Naval Establishment—Carries his Measures—Our Naval successes.

On the twenty-ninth of December, 1806, Mr. Clay produced his credentials, and took his seat in the Senate of the United States. He had been elected

by the Legislature of the State of Kentucky to fill a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of the Hon. John Adair; and, from the journals of Congress, he seems to have entered at once, actively upon the discharge of the duties of his new and exalted position. His first Speech was in favor of the erection of a bridge over the Potomac River; and at this period we perceive the dawning of those views of 'Internal Improvement,' which he afterward carried out so ably, and his advocacy of which should alone be sufficient to entitle him to the lasting gratitude of the Country. He amused the Senate on this occasion by quoting a passage from Peter Pindar, as applicable to a Senator by whom he had been assailed, and who was remarkable for the expression of superior sagacity which his countenance was wont to assume when he rebuked the younger members of the body. The picture was apt and graphic:

"Thus have I seen a magpie in the street,
A chattering bird, we often meet;
A bird for curiosity well known,
With head awry, and cunning eye,
Peep knowingly into a narrow-bone."

This Speech was soon followed by his presentation of a Resolution advocating the expediency of appropriating a quantity of land toward the opening of the Canal proposed to be cut at the Rapids of the Ohio, on the Kentucky shore.

The subject of appropriations for Internal Improvements was at that time a novelty. So far as it related to the establishment of Post-Roads, it had, it is true, been discussed in February, 1795; but no formal opinion of Congress was expressed, so as to be a precedent for future action.

A Committee, consisting of Messrs. Clay, Giles and Baldwin, was now appointed to consider the new Resolution, and on the twenty-fourth of February, 1807, Mr. Clay made an able Report to the Senate, in which we find the following passage:—"How far it is the policy of the Government to aid 'in works of this kind, when it has no distinct interest; whether, indeed, in such a case, it has the 'Constitutional power of patronage and encouragement, it is not necessary to be decided in the present 'instance.'" A few days afterward, he reported a bill providing for the appointment of Commissioners to ascertain the practicability of removing the obstructions in the navigation of the Ohio at the Rapids. This bill passed the Senate by a vote of eighteen to eight.

The following resolution, presented the day of the passage of the bill, shows that Mr. Clay thus early in his career was deeply impressed with the importance of a system of Internal Improvement. He may truly be called the father of that system, which has so incalculably advanced the general prosperity of the Republic:—

"Resolved, That the Secretary of the Treasury be directed to prepare and report to the Senate at their next session, a plan for the application of such means as are within the power of Congress, to the purposes of opening Roads and making Canals; together with a statement of undertakings of that nature, which, as objects of public improvement, may require and deserve the aid of Government; and, also, a statement of works, of the nature mentioned, which have been commenced, the progress which has been made in them, and the means and prospect of their being completed; and all such information

as, in the opinion of the Secretary, shall be material in relation to the objects of this resolution."

The resolution was passed with but three dissenting voices.

During this session an attempt was made to suspend the *Habeas Corpus* Act, for the purpose of enabling the President to arrest, without going through the forms and delays of the law, Col. Burr, of whose evil intentions there was now sufficient proof. Mr. Clay did not speak on the motion, but his vote was recorded against it, not through any tenderness towards Burr, but because of the danger of instituting such a precedent against the liberty of the citizen. The motion was, however, carried in the Senate, but defeated in the House of Representatives.

Mr. Clay's election to the Senate of the United States had been but for the fraction of a term, amounting to a single session. In the summer of 1807, he was again chosen by the citizens of Fayette to represent them in the Kentucky Legislature, and at the next session he was elected Speaker of the Assembly. In this position he did not content himself with faithfully discharging the ordinary duties of a Speaker. He entered the arena of debate, and took an active part in most of the important discussions before the House. A motion having been made to prohibit the reading in the Courts of Kentucky of any British decision, or elementary work on Law, he opposed it with a vigor and eloquence that could not fail of effect. More than four-fifths of the Members of the House had evinced a determination to vote for the motion. It was argued that the Americans, as an independent people, ought not to suffer themselves to be governed, in the administration of justice, by the legal decisions of a foreign power. Mr. Clay had to contend against a most formidable array of popular prejudice. To obviate one of the most potent arguments of the friends of the motion, he ingeniously moved to amend it by limiting the exclusion of British decisions from Kentucky to those only which have taken place since the 4th of July, 1776, the date of American Independence, and suffering all which preceded that period to remain in force. He maintained that before the declaration of our independence, the British and Americans were the same nation, and the laws of the one people were those of the other. He then entered upon one of the most eloquent harangues that ever fell from his lips. He exposed the barbarity of a measure which would annihilate, for all practical uses in the State, the great body of the Common Law; which would "wantonly make wreck of a system fraught with the intellectual wealth of centuries, and whelm its last fragment beneath the wave."

Those who had the good fortune to hear Mr. Clay on this occasion, describe his speech as one of transcendent power, beauty and pathos. A gentleman, who was a partaker in the effect produced by his eloquence, says:—"Every muscle of the orator's face was in motion; his whole body seemed agitated, as if every part were instinct with a separate life; and his small, white hand, with its blue veins apparently distended almost to bursting, moved gracefully, but with all the energy of rapid and vehement gesture. The appearance of the speaker seemed that of a pure intellect wrought up to its

'mightiest energies, and brightly glowing through the thin and transparent veil of flesh that enrobed it.'

It is almost needless to add that Mr. Clay prevailed on this occasion in turning the tide in his favor, and the original motion was rejected.

A report drawn up by him in 1809 upon a question of disputed election is worthy of notice in this place. The citizens of Hardin County, who were entitled to two Representatives in the General Assembly, had given 436 votes for Charles Helm, 350 for Samuel Haycraft, and 271 for John Thomas. The fact being ascertained that Mr. Haycraft held an office of profit under the Commonwealth, at the time of the election, a constitutional disqualification attached and excluded him. He was ineligible, and therefore could not be entitled to his seat. It remained to inquire into the pretensions of Mr. Thomas. His claim could only be supported by a total rejection of the votes given by Mr. Haycraft, as void to all intents whatever. Mr. Clay contended that those votes, though void and ineffectual in creating any right in Mr. Haycraft to a seat in the House, could not affect, in any manner, the situation of his competitor. Any other exposition would be subversive of the great principle of Free Government, that the majority shall prevail. It would operate as a fraud upon the People; for it could not be doubted that the votes given to Mr. Haycraft were bestowed under a full persuasion that he had a right to receive them. It would, in fact, be a declaration that disqualification produced qualification—that the incapacity of one man capacitated another to hold a seat in that House. The Committee, therefore, unanimously decided that neither of the gentlemen was entitled to a seat.

Such were the principles of Mr. Clay's Report. It was unanimously adopted by the House; and its doctrines have ever since governed the Kentucky Elections.

In December, 1808, Mr. Clay introduced before the Legislature of Kentucky a series of Resolutions approving the Embargo, denouncing the British Orders in Council, pledging the coöperation of Kentucky to any measures of opposition to British exactions, upon which the General Government might determine, and declaring that "THOMAS JEFFERSON *is entitled to the thanks of his Country for the ability, uprightness and intelligence which he has displayed in the management both of our Foreign Relations and Domestic Concerns.*"

Mr. Humphrey Marshall opposed these Resolutions with extraordinary vehemence, and introduced Amending Resolutions of a directly opposite tendency; but Mr. Marshall was the only one who voted in favor of the latter. Mr. Clay's original Resolutions were adopted by a vote of sixty-four to one.

Soon after this event, Mr. Clay introduced a Resolution recommending that every Member, for the purpose of encouraging the Industry of the Country, should clothe himself in garments of Domestic Manufacture. This Resolution was at once most emphatically denounced by Mr. Humphrey Marshall, who stigmatized it as the project of a demagogue, and applied a profusion of harsh and ungenerous epithets to the mover. Mr. Clay retorted, and the quarrel went on until it terminated in a hos-

tile encounter. The parties met, and by the first shot Mr. Marshall was slightly wounded. They stood up a second time, and Mr. Clay received a hardly perceptible flesh wound in the leg. The seconds now interfered, and prevented a continuance of the combat.

Mr. Clay was once again called upon in the course of his political career, by the barbarous exactions of society, to consent to a hostile encounter; but we are confident that no man at heart abominates the custom more sincerely than he. The following passage in relation to this subject occurs in an address, which, in his maturer years, he made to his constituents: "I owe it to the community to say, that whatever heretofore I may have done, or by inevitable circumstances might be forced to do, no man in it holds in deeper abhorrence than I do that pernicious practice. Condemned as it must be by the judgment and philosophy, to say nothing of the religion, of every thinking man, it is an affair of feeling about which we cannot, although we should, reason. Its true corrective will be found when all shall unite, as all ought to unite, in its unqualified proscription."

When the bill to suppress duelling in the District of Columbia came before the Senate of the United States in the spring of 1838, Mr. Clay said, no man would be happier than he to see the whole barbarous system forever eradicated. It was well known, that in certain quarters of the country, public opinion was averse from duelling, and no man could fly in the face of that public opinion, without having his reputation sacrificed; but there were other portions again which exacted obedience to the fatal custom. The man with a high sense of honor, and nice sensibility, when the question is whether he shall fight or have the finger of scorn pointed at him, is unable to resist, and few, very few, are found willing to adopt such an alternative. When public opinion shall be renovated, and chastened by reason, religion and humanity, the practice of duelling will at once be discountenanced. It is the office of legislation to do all it can to bring about that healthful state of the public mind, and although it may not altogether effect so desirable a result yet he had no doubt it would do much towards it, and with these views, he would give his vote for the bill.

In the winter session of Congress in 1809-10, Mr. Clay took his seat a second time in the Senate of the United States. He had been elected by the legislature by a handsome majority to supply a vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Mr. Buckner Thurston, whose term wanted two years of its completion. From this period the public history of Mr. Clay may be found diffused through the annals of the Union. The archives of the republic are the sources from which the materials for his biography may be henceforth derived. When time shall have removed the inducements for interested praise or censure, posterity will point to the records of his civic achievements, glorious though bloodless, no less as furnishing a well established title to their admiration and gratitude than as a perpetual monument of his fame.

The predilections which Mr. Clay had early manifested in behalf of American manufactures and American principles, were unequivocally avowed in his first speech before the Senate on being elected a second time to that body as far back as April, 1810. A bill was under discussion appropriating a sum o

money for procuring munitions of war, and for other purposes; and an amendment had been proposed, instructing the Secretary of the Navy, to provide supplies of cordage, sail-cloth, hemp, &c, and to give a preference to those of American growth and manufacture. Mr. Lloyd of Massachusetts moved to strike out this part of the amendment; and a discussion arose concerning the general policy of promoting domestic manufactures, in which Mr. Clay boldly declared himself its advocate.

The fallacious course of reasoning urged by many against domestic manufactures, namely, the distress and servitude produced by those of England, he said would equally indicate the propriety of abandoning agriculture itself. Were we to cast our eyes upon the miserable peasantry of Poland, and revert to the days of feudal vassalage, we might thence draw numerous arguments against the pursuits of the husbandman. In short, take the black side of the picture, and every human occupation will be found pregnant with fatal objections.

The sentiments avowed thus early in our legislative history by Mr. Clay are now current throughout our vast community; and the "American System," as it has been called, is generally admitted to be not only a patriotic, but a politic system. But let it not be forgotten, that it is to the persevering and unremitting exertions of Henry Clay, that we are indebted for the planting and the cherishing of that goodly tree, under the far-spreading branches of which so many find protection and plenty at the present day.

The amendments advocated by Mr. Clay on this occasion were adopted, and the bill was passed. The first step toward the establishment of his magnificent "system" was taken.

Another speech in which he distinguished himself during the session, is that upon the question of the right of the United States to the territory lying between the rivers Mississippi, and Perdido, comprising the greater part of Western Florida. This important region, out of which the States of Alabama and Mississippi have since been formed, was claimed by Spain as a part of her Florida domain. The President, Mr. Madison, had issued a proclamation declaring the region annexed to the Orleans Territory, and subject to the laws of the United States. The Federalists maintained that we had no claim to the Territory—that it belonged to Spain—and that Great Britain as her ally, would not consent to see her robbed.

Mr. Clay stepped forth as the champion of the democracy and the President, and eloquently vindicated the title of the United States to the land. His arguments evince much research, ingenuity and logical skill; and on this as on all occasions, he manifested that irrepressible sympathy with the people—the mass—his eloquent expressions of which had gained him in Kentucky the appellation of the GREAT COMMONER. Mr. Horsey, one of the Senators from Delaware, had bemoaned the fate of the Spanish king. Mr. Clay said in reply: "I shall leave the honorable gentleman from Delaware to mourn over the fortunes of the fallen Charles. I have no commiseration for princes. MY SYMPATHIES ARE RESERVED FOR THE GREAT MASS OF MANKIND; and I own that the people of Spain have them most sincerely."

With regard to the deprecated wrath of Great Britain, Mr. Clay said, with a burst of indignant eloquence, which is but inadequately conveyed in the reported speech: "Sir, is the time never to arrive, when we may manage our own affairs, without the fear of insulting his Britannic majesty? Is the rod of British power to be forever suspended over our heads? Does Congress put on an embargo to shelter our rightful commerce against the piratical depredations committed upon it on the ocean? We are immediately warned of the indignation of England. Is a law of non-intercourse proposed? The whole navy of the haughty Mistress of the Seas is made to thunder in our ears. Does the President refuse to continue a correspondence with a Minister, who violates the decorum belonging to his diplomatic character, by giving and deliberately repeating an affront to the whole nation? We are instantly menaced with the chastisement which English pride will not fail to inflict. Whether we assert our rights by sea, or attempt their maintenance by land—whithersoever we turn ourselves, this phantom incessantly pursues us!"

The strong American feeling, the genuine democratic dignity, which pervade this Speech are characteristic of the man and of the principles, which, throughout a long and trying public career, he has steadfastly maintained. And yet we find new-fledged politicians and dainty demagogues of modern fashionable manufacture, charging this early and consistent leader of the Democracy—this friend and supporter of Jefferson and of Madison—this main pillar of the Party, who originated and conducted to a glorious termination the last War—charging him with Federalism and Aristocracy! Every act of his life—every recorded word that ever fell from his lips gives the lie to the imputation.

Mr. Clay's labors during this Session appear to have been arduous and diversified—showing on his part unusual versatility, industry and powers of application. He was placed on several important Committees, and seems to have taken part in all discussions of moment. On the 26th of March, 1810, from the Committee to whom was recommended a bill granting a right of preëmption to purchasers of Public Lands in certain cases, he reported it with amendments, which were read; and, after undergoing some alterations, it was again recommitted, reported, and finally passed by the Senate. Mr. Clay was the early friend of the poor settler on the Public Lands, and he has always advocated a policy which, while it is extremely liberal toward that class, is consistent with perfect justice to the People at large, who are the legitimate owners of the Public Domain.

On the 29th of March Mr. Clay brought in a bill supplementary to an act entitled "An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes, and to preserve Peace on the Frontier." The bill was referred to a Committee, of which he was appointed Chairman; and to his intelligent labors in their behalf, the People of the West were indebted for measures of protection of the most efficient character.

The 20th of April succeeding, on motion of Mr. Clay, the bill to enable the People of the Orleans Territory, now Louisiana, to form a Constitution and Government was amended by a provision requiring that the Laws, Records and Legislative Pro-

ceedings of the State should be in the English language. On the 27th of the same month he had leave of absence for the rest of the Session, after accomplishing an amount of public business that few men could have despatched with so much promptitude, ability and advantage to the Country.

The Third Session of the Eleventh Congress commenced on the 3d of December, 1810. Mr. Clay was once more in his seat in the Senate.

The subject of renewing the Charter of the United States Bank was now the great topic before Congress. Mr. Clay had been instructed by the Legislature of Kentucky to oppose a recharter; and his own convictions at the time accorded with theirs. He addressed the Senate at some length in opposition to the proposed measure. He lived to rectify his opinions on this important question; and his reasons for the change must be satisfactory to every candid mind. They are given in an Address to his constituents in Lexington, dated the 3d of June, 1816.

In a Speech to the same constituents, delivered the 9th of June, 1842, he alludes to the subject in these terms:

"I never but once changed my opinion on any great measure of national policy, or any great principle of construction of the National Constitution. In early life, on deliberate consideration, I adopted the principles of interpreting the Federal Constitution, which had been so ably developed and enforced by Mr. Madison in his memorable Report to the Virginia Legislature; and to them, as I understood them, I have constantly adhered. Upon the question coming up in the Senate of the United States, to recharter the first Bank of the United States thirty years ago, I opposed the recharter upon convictions which I honestly entertained. The experience of the War which shortly followed, the condition into which the Currency of the Country was thrown, without a Bank, and, I may now add, later and more disastrous experience, convinced me I was wrong. I publicly stated to my constituents, in a Speech at Lexington, (that which I had made in the House of Representatives not having been reported) my reasons for that change; and they are preserved in the archives of the Country. I appeal to that record; and I am willing to be judged now and hereafter by their validity.

"I do not advert to the fact of this solitary instance of change of opinion, as implying any personal merit, but because it is a fact. I will, however, say that I think it very perilous to the utility of any public man to make frequent changes of opinion, or any change, but upon grounds so sufficient and palpable that the public can clearly see and approve them."

Many important subjects were discussed by the Senate during the Session of 1810-11; and Mr. Clay was in all of them conspicuous. His zeal and efficiency in the Public Service began to attract the eyes of the whole Country. He was not the Representative of Kentucky alone. His capacious heart and active mind, uncontracted by sectional jealousies or local bigotry, comprehended the entire Union in their embrace.

At the expiration of his second fractional term of service in the Senate of the United States, having returned to Kentucky, he was elected a member of the Federal House of Representatives. Congress convened on the day designated by Proclamation, the fourth day of November, 1811; and, on the first ballot for Speaker, 128 members being present, he was chosen by a majority of 31, over all opposition.

The affairs of the Nation were never in a more critical position than at this juncture. The honor of the Republic was at stake. A long series of outrages perpetrated against our Commerce by England and by France had reached a height, at which farther toleration would have been pusillanimous. Under the Berlin and Milan Decrees of Napoleon, our ships were seized and our property confiscated by the French in a manner to provoke the warmest indignation of a free People. Great Britain vied with France, and finally far surpassed her in her acts of violence and rapine toward us. Each of the beligerent nations sought a pretext in the conduct of the other for her own injustice.

At length France, in answer to our remonstrances, repealed her odious Decrees so far as we were concerned, and practically abandoned her system of seizure and oppression. Great Britain did not follow her example.

A year had elapsed since the French Decrees were rescinded; but Great Britain persisted in her course,—affecting to deny their extinction. The ships of the United States, laden with the produce of our soil and labor, navigated by our own citizens and peaceably pursuing a lawful trade, were seized on our coasts, and, at the very mouth of our own harbors, condemned and confiscated. But it was the ruffianly system of impressment—by which American freemen, pursuing a lawful life of hard-ship and daring on the ocean, were liable to be seized, in violation of the rights of our flag, forced into the naval service of a foreign Power, and made, perhaps, the instruments of similar oppression toward their own countrymen;—it was this despotic and barbarous system that principally roused the warlike spirit of Congress and the Nation. And Posterity will admit that this cause of itself was an all-sufficient justification for hostile measures. The spirit of that People must have been debased indeed, which could have tamely submitted to such aggressions.

The feelings of Mr. Clay on this subject seem to have been of the intensest description. Though coming from a State distant from the sea-board, the wrongs and indignities practiced against our mariners by British arrogance and oppression, fired his soul and stirred his whole nature to resistance. To him, the idea of succumbing a moment to such degrading outrages was intolerable. The Nation had been injured and insulted. England persisted in her injuries and insults. It was useless to temporise longer. He was for war, prompt, open and determined war. He communicated to others the electric feelings that animated his own breast. He wreaked all his energies on this great cause.

In appointing the Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom the important question was to be referred, he was careful to select a majority of such Members as partook of his own decided views. Peter B. Porter, of New York, was the Chairman; and, on the 29th of November, he made a Report, in which the Committee earnestly recommended, in the words of the President, "that the United States 'be immediately put into an armor and attitude demanded by the crisis, and corresponding with the 'national spirit and expectations.'" They submitted appropriate Resolutions for the carrying out of this great object.

On the 31st of December, the House resolved itself into a Committee of the Whole, Mr. Breckenridge in the Chair, on a bill from the Senate, providing for the raising of twenty-five thousand troops. Of this measure, Mr. Clay was the warmest, and at the same time most judicious, advocate. He addressed the House eloquently in its behalf, and urged it forward on all occasions with his best energies.

He contended that the real cause of British aggression was not to distress France, as many maintained, but to destroy a rival. "She saw," continued he, "in your numberless ships, which 'whitened every sea—in your hundred and twenty 'thousand gallant tars—the seeds of a naval force, 'which in thirty years would rival her on her own 'element. *She therefore commenced the odious 'system of Impressment, of which no language 'can paint my execration! She DARED to attempt 'the subversion of the personal freedom of your 'mariners!'*"

In concluding, Mr. Clay said he trusted that he had fully established these three positions:—That the quantum of the force proposed by the bill was not too great; that its nature was such as the contemplated War called for; and that the object of the War was justified by every consideration of justice, of interest, of honor and love of country. Unless that object were at once attained by peaceful means, he hoped that war would be waged before the close of the Session.

The bill passed the House on the 4th of January succeeding; and, on the 22d of the same month, the Report of the Committee, to whom that part of the President's Message relating to a Naval Establishment was referred, being under discussion, Mr. Clay spoke in favor of an increase of the Navy, advocating the building of ten frigates.

In his remarks, on this occasion, he contended that a description of naval force entirely within our means was that, which would be sufficient to prevent any single vessel, of whatever metal, from endangering our whole coasting trade—blocking up our harbors, and laying under contributions our cities—a force competent to punish the insolence of the commander of any single ship, and to preserve in our own jurisdiction the inviolability of our peace and our laws.

"Is there," he asked, "a reflecting man in the 'nation who would not charge Congress with a 'culpable neglect of its duty, if, for the want of 'such a force, a single ship were to bombard one of 'our cities? Would not every honorable member 'of the Committee inflict on himself the bitterest reproaches, if, by failing to make an inconsiderable 'addition to our little gallant Navy, a single British 'vessel should place New-York under contribution!"

On the 29th of January, 1812, the bill to increase the Navy passed the House by a handsome majority. To Mr. Clay's eloquent advocacy of the measure, the Country is largely indebted for the glorious naval successes which afterward shed a new and undying lustre upon our history. But for the gallant and effective Navy, which sprang up under such auspices, the main arm of our defence would have been crippled. While we contemplate with pride our achievements upon the sea—the innumerable deeds of our Lawrences, Decatur, Hulls,

Bainbridges and Perrys—let us not forget the Statesman, but for whose provident sagacity and intrepid spirit, the opportunity of performing those exploits might never have been afforded.

CHAPTER III.

Mr. Clay prefers a seat in the House to one in the Senate—Reasons for making him Speaker—The President recommends an Embargo—The measure opposed by John Randolph and Josiah Quincy—Defended by Mr. Clay—His intercourse with Randolph—War declared—The Leaders in the House—Mr. Cheves and Mr. Gallatin—Mr. Clay appointed to confer with President Madison—Anecdotes—Events of the War—Motives—Federal Abuse—Clay's Reply to Quincy—Effects of his Eloquence—Passage of the Army Bill—Madison re-elected President—Mr. Clay resigns the Speaker's Chair, being appointed Commissioner to Ghent—His services during the War.

THE cause of Mr. Clay's transference from the Senate to the House of Representatives was his own preference, at the time, of a seat in the popular branch. His immediate appointment as Speaker was, under the circumstances, a rare honor, and one never, before or since, conferred on a new Member. Among the qualifications which led to his selection for that high station was his known firmness, which would check any attempt to domineer over the House; and many Members had a special view to a proper restraint upon Mr. John Randolph of Virginia, who, through the fears of Mr. Varnum, and the partiality entertained for him by Mr. Macon, the two preceding Speakers, had exercised a control which, it was believed, was injurious to the deliberations of the body.

On the first of April, 1812, the following confidential communication from the President to Congress was received:

"Considering it as expedient, under existing circumstances and prospects, that a general embargo be laid on all vessels now in port or hereafter arriving, for the period of sixty days, I recommend the immediate passage of a law to that effect.

"JAMES MADISON."

This proposition was immediately discussed in the House in secret session, Mr. Clay took an active part in the debate. He gave to the measure recommended by the President his ardent and unqualified support. "I APPROVE OF IT," said he, "BECAUSE IT IS TO BE VIEWED AS A DIRECT PRECURSOR TO WAR."

Among the most vehement opponents of the measure were John Randolph, of Virginia, and Josiah Quincy, of Massachusetts. Mr. Randolph said that the honorable Speaker was mistaken when he said the message was for war. Mr. R. had "too much 'reliance on the wisdom and virtue of the President 'to believe that he would be guilty of such gross 'and unparalleled treason." He maintained that the proposed embargo was not to be regarded as an initial step to war—but as a subterfuge—a retreat from battle. "What *new* cause of war," he asked, "or of an embargo has arisen within the last twelve 'months? The affair of the Chesapeake is settled: 'no new principles of blockade have been interpolated in the laws of nations. Every man of candor 'would ask why did not, then, go to war twelve 'months ago."

"What *new* cause of war has been avowed!" said Mr. Clay in reply—"The affair of the Chesapeake is settled, to be sure, but only to paralyze the spirit of the country. Has Great Britain abstained from impressing our seamen—from depredating upon our

property? We have complete proof, in her capture of our ships, in her exciting our frontier Indians to hostility, and in her sending an emissary to our cities to excite civil war, that she will do everything to destroy us: our resolution and spirit are our only dependence. Although I feel warmly upon this subject," continued he, "I pride myself upon those feelings, and should despise myself if I were destitute of them."

Mr. Quincy expressed in strong terms his abhorrence of the proposed measure. He said that his objections were, that it was not what it pretended to be; and was what it pretended not to be. That it was not embargo preparatory to war; but that it was embargo as a substitute for the question of declaring war. "I object to it," said he, "because it is no 'efficient preparation; because it is, not a progress 'towards honorable war, but a subterfuge from the 'question. If we must perish, let us perish by any 'hand except our own. Any fate is better than self-slaughter."

Against this storm of opposition Henry Clay presented an undaunted front. As the debate was carried on with closed doors, no ample record of it is in existence. But a member of Congress, who was present, says: "On this occasion Mr. Clay was a 'flame of fire. He had now brought Congress to 'the verge of what he conceived to be a war for liberty and honor, and his voice rang through the capitol like a trumpet-tone sounding for the onset. On 'the subject of the policy of the embargo, his eloquence, like a Roman phalanx, bore down all opposition, and he put to shame those of his opponents, who flouted the government as being unprepared for war."

The Message recommending an embargo was referred to the committee on Foreign Relations, who reported a bill for carrying it into effect, which was adopted by the House. In the Senate it underwent a slight alteration in the substitution of ninety for sixty days as the term of the embargo. This amendment was concurred in; and on the fourth of April, Mr. Crawford reported the presentation of the bill to the President, and that it had received his signature.

Through the indefatigable exertions of Mr. Clay and his associates, the attitude of resistance to aggression was now boldly assumed—the first step was taken towards a definite declaration of war.

On assuming the duties of the Speakership, Mr. Clay had foreseen, from the peculiar character and constitution of mind of that remarkable and distinguished man, John Randolph, that it would be extremely difficult to maintain with him relations of civility and friendship. He, therefore, resolved to act on the principle of never giving and never receiving an insult without immediate notice, if he were in a place where it could be noticed. Their mode of intercourse or non-intercourse was most singular. Sometimes weeks, months would pass without their speaking to each other. Then, for an equal space of time, no two gentlemen could treat each other with more courtesy and attention. Mr. Randolph, on entering the House in the morning, while these better feelings prevailed, would frequently approach the Chair, bow respectfully to the Speaker, and inquire after his health.

But Mr. Randolph was impatient of all restraints, and could not brook those which were sometimes

applied to himself by the Speaker in the discharge of the duties of the Chair. On one occasion he appealed to his constituents, and was answered by Mr. Clay. The case was this: Mr. Clay, in one of his morning rides, passed through Georgetown, where Mr. Randolph, the late Mr. J. Lewis, of Virginia, and other members of Congress boarded. Meeting with Mr. Lewis, that gentleman inquired of him, if there were any news? Mr. Clay informed him, that on the Monday following, President Madison would send a message to Congress, recommending a declaration of war against Great Britain.

The day after this meeting, Mr. Randolph came to the House, and having addressed the Speaker in a very rambling, desultory speech for about an hour, he was reminded from the chair, that there was no question pending before the House. Mr. Randolph said he would present one. He was requested to state it. He stated that he meant to move a resolution, that it was *not* expedient to declare war against Great Britain." The Speaker, according to a rule of the House, desired him to reduce his resolution to writing, and to send it to the chair; which he accordingly did. And thereupon the Speaker informed him, that before he could proceed in his speech, the House must decide that it would now consider his resolution. Upon putting that question to the House, it was decided by a large majority, that it would not consider the resolution; and thus Mr. Randolph was prevented from haranguing the House farther in its support. Of this he complained, and published an address to his constituents.

Some expressions in this address seeming to require notice, Mr. Clay addressed a communication under his own name, to the editor of the National Intelligencer, in which he reviews the questions at issue between him and Mr. Randolph, and vindicates the justice of his recent decisions in the chair.

"Two principles," he says, "are settled by these decisions; the first is, that the House has a right to know, through its organ, the specific motion which a member intends making, before he undertakes to argue it at large; and in the second place, that it reserves to itself the exercise of the power of determining whether it will consider it at the particular time when offered, prior to his thus proceeding to argue it."

Every succeeding Congress has acknowledged the validity of the principles thus established by Mr. Clay. They seem essential to the proper regulation of debate in a large legislative body."

A bill from the Committee on Foreign Relations was reported to the House on the third of June, 1812, declaring *War between Great Britain and her dependencies and the United States*. On the eighteenth it had passed both Houses of Congress; and the next day the President's proclamation was issued, declaring the actual existence of War. On the sixth of July, Congress adjourned to the first Monday in November.

Mr. Clay, Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Cheves, and Mr. Calhoun, were the leaders, who sustained and carried through the declaration of War. Mr. Clay, fully impressed with the conviction, that the honor and the highest interests of the country demanded the declaration, was ardent, active and enthusiastic in its support. To him was assigned the responsible duty of appointing all the Committees. Mr. Madison's Cabinet was not unanimous on the subject of war;

Mr. Madison himself was in favor of it, but seemed to go into it with much repugnance and great apprehension. The character of his mind was one of extreme caution, bordering on timidity, although he acted with vigor and firmness when his resolution was once taken. Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, was adverse to the war.

It was the opinion and wish of Mr. Clay, Mr. Cheves, and their friends, that financial as well as military and naval preparations should be made for the conduct of the war, and previous to its declaration. Accordingly, Mr. Gallatin was called upon to report a system of finance appropriate to the occasion. He had enjoyed a high reputation for financial ability; and it was hoped and anticipated, that he would display it when he made his required report. But the disappointment was great when his report appeared. Instead of indicating any new source of revenue—instead of suggesting any great plan calling forth the resources of the nation, he reported in favor of all the old odious taxes—excise, stamp duties, &c. which had been laid during previous administrations. It was believed, from the offensive nature of the taxes, that his object was to repress the war spirit. But far from being discouraged, Mr. Clay and his friends resolved to impose the duties recommended.

Mr. Cheves was at the head of the Committee of Ways and Means, and went laboriously to work to prepare numerous bills for the collection of taxes as suggested by the Secretary. After they were prepared and reported, it was for the first time discovered that the Executive, and more especially Mr. Gallatin, were opposed to the imposition of taxes at the same session during which war was declared. This was ascertained by the active exertions of Mr. Smiley, a leading and influential member from Pennsylvania, and the confidential friend of Mr. Gallatin. In circles of the members, he would urge in conversation the expediency of postponing the taxes to another session, saying that the people would not take both war and taxes together."

Mr. Clay and his friends were aware that the levying of taxes, always a difficult and up-hill business, could not be effected without the hearty concurrence of the Executive, and therefore reluctantly submitted to the postponement—a most unfortunate delay, the ill effects of which were felt throughout the whole war. Mr. Cheves, who had plied the laboring oar, in preparing the various revenue bills, was highly indignant, and especially at the conduct of Mr. Gallatin, of whom he ever afterwards thought unfavorably.

The negotiations with Mr. Foster, the British Chargé d'Affaires at Washington, were protracted up to the period of the Declaration of War. The Republican party became impatient of the delay. It was determined that an informal deputation should wait upon Mr. Madison to expostulate against longer procrastination; and it was agreed that Mr. Clay should be the spokesman. The gentlemen of the deputation accordingly called on the President, and Mr. Clay stated to him, that Congress was impatient for action; that further efforts at negotiation were vain; that an accommodation was impracticable; that the haughty spirit of Britain was unbending and unyielding; that submission to her arrogant pretensions, especially that of a right to im-

press our seamen, was impossible—that enough had been done by us with a view to conciliation; that the time for decisive action had arrived, and war was inevitable.

By way of illustrating the difference between speaking and writing, and *acting*, Mr. Clay related to Mr. Madison an anecdote of two Kentucky Judges. One talked incessantly from the Bench. He reasoned every body to death. He would deliver an opinion, and first try to convince the party that agreed with him and then the opposite party. The consequence was that business lagged, the docket accumulated, litigants complained, and the community were dissatisfied. He was succeeded by a Judge, who never gave any reasons for his opinion, but decided the case simply, for the plaintiff or the defendant. His decisions were rarely reversed by the appellate Court—the docket melted away—litigants were no longer exposed to ruinous delay—and the community were contented. Surely, said Mr. Clay, we have exhausted the argument with Great Britain.

Mr. Madison enjoyed the joke, but, in his good-natured, sly way, said, he also had heard an anecdote, of a French Judge, who after the argument of the cause was over, put the papers of the contending parties into opposite scales, and decided according to the preponderance of weight.

Speaking of the opposition of the Federal party Mr. Clay remarked, that they were neither to be conciliated nor silenced—"let us do what we sincerely believe to be right, and trust to God and the goodness of our cause."

Mr. Madison said, that our institutions were founded upon the principle of the competency of man for self-government, and that we should never be tired of appealing to the reason and judgment of the people.

Such deference did Mr. Madison have, however, for the opinion and advice of his friends, that shortly after this conference, he transmitted his war message to Congress.

The second session of the twelfth Congress took place at the appointed time. Events of an important character had occurred since it last met. The war had been prosecuted; and we had sustained some reverses. General Hull, to whom had been assigned the defence of the Michigan frontier, had, after an unsuccessful incursion into the neighboring territory of the enemy, surrendered ingloriously the town and fort of Detroit.

An attack was made on a post of the enemy near Niagara, by a detachment of regular and other forces under Major-General Van Rensselaer, and after displaying much gallantry had been compelled to yield, with considerable loss, to reinforcements of Savages and British regulars.

But though partially unsuccessful on the land, the Americans had won imperishable trophies on the sea. Our public ships and private cruisers had made the enemy sensible of the difference between a reciprocity of captures, and the long confinement of them to their side. The frigate *Constitution*, commanded by Captain Hull, after a close and short engagement, had completely disabled the British frigate *Guerriere*. A vast amount of property had been saved to the country by the course pursued by a squadron of our frigates under the command of Commodore Rodgers.

A strong disposition to adjust existing difficulties with Great Britain had, in the mean time, been manifested by our Government. Our Chargé des Affaires at London had been authorized to accede to certain terms, by which the war might be arrested, without awaiting the delays of a formal and final pacification.

These terms required substantially, that the British orders in council should be repealed as they affected the United States, without a revival of blockades violating acknowledged rules; that there should be an immediate discharge of American seamen from British ships. On such terms an armistice was proposed by our Government.

These advances were declined by Great Britain from an avowed repugnance to a suspension of the practice of impressment during the armistice.

Early in January, 1813, a bill from the Military Committee of the House, for the raising of an additional force, not exceeding twenty thousand men, underwent a long and animated discussion in committee of the whole. The opposition on this occasion rallied all their strength to denounce the measure. Mr. Quincy, to whom we have before alluded, made a most bitter harangue against it and its supporters. "Since the invasion of the buccaneers," said Mr. Q. "there is nothing in history like this war." Alluding to some of the friends of the administration, he stigmatized them as "household troops, who lounged for what they could pick up about the government house—toad-eaters, who lived on eleemosynary, ill-purchased courtesy, upon the palace, who swallowed great men's spittle, got judgeships, and wondered at the fine sights, fine rooms, and fine company, and, most of all, wondered how they themselves got there."

Napoleon Bonaparte and Thomas Jefferson came in for no small share of the same gentleman's abuse.

On the eighth of January, Mr. Clay rose in defence of the new army bill, and in reply to the violent and personal remarks, which had fallen from the opposition. His effort on this occasion was one of the most brilliant in his whole career. It is imperfectly reported; for Mr. Clay has been always too inattentive to the preparation of his speeches for the press. To form an adequate idea of his eloquence we must look to the effect it produced—to the legislation which it swayed.

That portion of Mr. Clay's speech, in which he vindicated his illustrious friend, Thomas Jefferson, from the aspersions of the leader of the Federalists, has been deservedly admired as a specimen of energetic and indignant eloquence. It must have fallen with crushing effect upon him who called it forth:

"Next to the notice which the opposition has found itself called upon to bestow upon the French Emperor, a distinguished citizen of Virginia, formerly President of the United States, has never for a moment failed to receive their kindest and most respectful attention. An honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (of whom I am sorry to say it becomes necessary for me, in the course of my remarks, to take some notice,) has alluded to him in a remarkable manner. Neither his retirement from public office, his eminent services, nor his advanced age, can exempt this patriot from the coarse assaults of party malevolence. No, sir; in 1801 he snatched from the rude hands of usurpation the violated constitution of the country, and *that* is his crime. He preserved that instrument in form and substance and

spirit, a precious inheritance for generations to come, and for *this* he can never be forgiven.

"How vain and impotent is party rage, directed against such a man! He is not more elevated by his lofty residence upon the summit of his own favorite mountain, than he is lifted by the serenity of his mind, and the consciousness of a well-spent life, above the indignant passions and feelings of the day. No! his own beloved Monticello is not less moved by the storms that beat against its sides, than is this illustrious man by the howlings of the whole British pack let loose from the Essex kennel!

"When the gentleman, to whom I have been compelled to allude, shall have mingled his dust with that of his abused ancestors—when he shall have been consigned to oblivion, or, if he live at all, shall live only in the treasonable annals of a certain juncto, the name of Jefferson will be hailed with gratitude, his memory honored and cherished as the second founder of the liberties of the people, and the period of his administration will be looked back to as one of the happiest and brightest epochs in American history.

"But I beg the gentleman's pardon. He has indeed secured to himself a more imperishable fame than I had supposed. I think it was about four years ago that he submitted to the House of Representatives, an initiative proposition for an impeachment of Mr. Jefferson. The House condescended to consider it. *The gentleman debated it with his usual temper, moderation and urbanity.* The House decided upon it in the most solemn manner; and, although the gentleman had somehow obtained a second, the final vote stood, *one for, and one hundred and seventeen against the proposition!* The same historic page that transmitted to posterity the virtue and glory of Henry the Great of France, for their admiration and example, has preserved the infamous name of the fanatic assassin of the excellent monarch. The same sacred pen that portrayed the sufferings and crucifixion of the Saviour of mankind, has recorded for universal execration the name of him who was guilty—not of betraying his country—but—a kindred crime—of betraying his God!"

In other parts of his speech, Mr. Clay electrified the House by his impassioned eloquence. The day was intensely cold, and, for the only time in his life, he found it difficult to keep himself warm by the exercise of speaking. But the members crowded around him in hushed admiration; and there were few among them who did not testify by their streaming tears his mastery over the passions. The subject of impressment was touched upon; and the matchless pathos with which he depicted the consequences of that infernal system—portraying the situation of a supposed victim to its tyrannic outrages—thrilled through every heart. The reported passage can but feebly convey a conception of the impression produced. As well might we attempt to form an adequate idea of one of Raphael's pictures from a written description, as to transcribe the eloquence of Clay on this occasion. Even were his glowing words fully and correctly given, how much of the effect would be lost in the absence of that sweet and silvery voice—that graceful and expressive action—those flashing eyes—which gave life and potency and victory to his language!

In conclusion, Mr. Clay said:—"My plan would 'be to call out the ample resources of the country, 'give them a judicious direction, prosecute the war 'with the utmost vigor, strike wherever we can reach 'the enemy, at sea or on land, and negotiate the

* When the proposition was made to impeach Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Clay is said to have risen, and exclaimed in reference to the mover, "Sir, the gentleman soils the spot he stands upon."

'terms of a peace at Quebec or at Halifax. We are told that England is a proud and lofty nation, which, disdaining to wait for danger, meets it half way. Haughty as she is, we once triumphed over her, and, if we do not listen to the counsels of timidity and despair, we shall again prevail. In such a cause, with the aid of Providence, we must come out crowned with success; but if we fail, let us fail like men—lash ourselves to our gallant tars, and expire together in one common struggle—
'FIGHTING FOR FREE TRADE AND SEAMEN'S RIGHTS!'"

The Army Bill, thus advocated by Mr. Clay, passed the House on the 14th of January, 1813, by a vote of seventy-seven to forty-two.

On the tenth of February, the President of the Senate, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, proceeded to open the certificates of the Electors of the several States for President and Vice President of the United States. The vote stood: *For President*, James Madison, 123; De Witt Clinton, 89.—*For Vice President*, Elbridge Gerry, 131; Jared Ingersoll, 86. James Madison and Elbridge Gerry were accordingly elected—the former for a second term. The War Policy of the Administration was triumphantly sustained by the People.

The first session of the Thirteenth Congress commenced the twenty-fourth of May, 1813. Mr. Clay was again chosen Speaker by a large majority, and his voice of exhortation and encouragement continued to be raised in Committee of the Whole in vindication of the honor of the Country and the conduct of the War. The President, in his Message, alluded to the spirit in which the war had been waged by the British, who "were adding to the 'savage fury of it on one frontier, a system of plunder and conflagration on the other, equally forbidden by respect for national character and by the established rules of civilized warfare.'"

Mr. Clay eloquently called attention to this portion of the Message, and declared that if the outrages said to have been committed by the British armies and their savage allies should be found to be as public report had stated them, they called for the indignation of all Christendom, and ought to be embodied in an authentic document, which might perpetuate them on the page of history. Upon his motion, a resolution was adopted, referring this portion of the President's Message to a Select Committee, of which Mr. Macon was Chairman. A Report was subsequently submitted from this Committee, in which an abundance of testimony was brought forward, showing that the most inhuman outrages had been repeatedly perpetrated upon American prisoners by the Indian allies of British troops, and often under the eye of British officers. The report closed with a resolution requesting the President to lay before the House, during the progress of the war, all the instances of departure, by the British, from the ordinary mode of conducting war among civilized nations.

The new Congress had commenced its session at a period of general exultation among all patriotic Americans. Several honorable victories by sea and land had shed lustre on our annals. Captain Lawrence, of the Hornet, with but eighteen guns, had captured, after a brisk and gallant action of fifteen minutes, the British sloop of war *Peacock*, Captain

Peake, carrying twenty-two guns and one hundred and thirty men—the latter losing her Captain and nine men with thirty wounded, while our loss was but one killed and two wounded. York, the capital of Upper Canada, had been captured by the army of the centre, in connection with a naval force on Lake Ontario, under Gen. Dearborn; while the issue of the siege of Fort Meigs, under Gen. Harrison, had won for that officer an imperishable renown as a brave and skilful soldier.

In September of the preceding year, the Emperor Alexander of Russia had intimated to Mr. Adams, our Minister at St. Petersburg, his intention of tendering his services as Mediator between the United States and Great Britain. The proposition had been favorably received, and assurances had been given to the Emperor of the earnest desire of our Government that the interest of Russia might remain entirely unaffected by the existing war between us and England, and that no more intimate connections with France would be formed by the United States. With these assurances the Emperor had been highly gratified; and in the early part of March, 1813, the Russian Minister at Washington, M. Daschkoff, had formally proffered the mediation of his Government, which was readily accepted by the President. It was rejected, however, by the British Government, to the great surprise of our own, on the ground that their commercial and maritime rights would not thereby be as effectually secured as they deemed necessary; but, accompanying the rejection, was an expression of willingness to treat directly with the United States, either at Gottenburg or at London; and the interposition of the Emperor was requested in favor of such an arrangement.

In consequence of the friendly offer of the Russian Government, Messrs. Albert Gallatin and James A. Bayard had been sent to join our resident Minister, Mr. Adams, as *Envoy Extraordinary* at St. Petersburg. The proposal of the British Ministry, to treat with us at Gottenburg, was soon after accepted, and Messrs. Clay and Jonathan Russell were appointed, in conjunction with the three Plenipotentiaries then in Russia, to conduct the negotiations. On the 19th of January, 1814, Mr. Clay, in an appropriate Address, accordingly resigned his station as Speaker of the House. The same day a Resolution was passed by that body, thanking him for the ability and impartiality with which he had presided. The Resolution was adopted almost unanimously—only nine Members voting in opposition.

Mr. Clay had always asserted that an honorable Peace was attainable only by an efficient War. In Congress he had been the originator and most ardent supporter of nearly all those measures which had for their object the vigorous prosecution of hostilities against Great Britain. On every occasion his trumpet-voice was heard, cheering on the House and the Country to confidence and victory. No auguries of evil—no croakings of despondency—no suggestions of timidity—no violence of Federal opposition could for a moment shake his patriotic purposes, diminish his reliance on the justice of our cause, or induce him to hesitate in that policy, which he believed the honor and—what was inseparable from the honor—the interests, of the Country demanded.

The measure of gratitude due him from his fellow citizens, for his exertions in this cause alone, is not to be calculated or paid. But in that scroll where Freedom inscribes the names of her worthiest champions, destined to an immortal renown in her annals, the name of HENRY CLAY will be found with those of WASHINGTON, JEFFERSON and MADISON.

Having been the most efficient leader in directing the legislative action which originated and directed to a prosperous termination the War with Great Britain—a War which the voice of an impartial Posterity must admit to have elevated and strengthened us as a Nation—Mr. Clay was now appropriately selected as one of the Commissioners to arrange a Treaty of Peace.

CHAPTER IV.

Meeting of the Ghent Commissioners—Mr. Clay visits Brussels—Anecdote—Mode of transacting Business—Untoward Event—Mr. Clay refuses to surrender to the British the Right to Navigate the Mississippi—His Reasons—Controversy between Messrs. Adams and Russell—Mr. Clay's Letter—Goes to Paris—Is introduced to the Duke of Wellington by Madame de Stael—Hears of the Battle of New-Orleans—Visits England—Lord Castlereagh and his First Waiter—Waterloo and Napoleon—Mr. Clay's Reception in England—Declines going to Court—Sir James Mackintosh—Lord Gambier, &c.—Mr. Clay's Return to New-York—Reception—Re-elected to Congress—Vindication of the War—Internal Improvements—His Country, his whole Country.

THE Commissioners met first at Gottingen, but their meetings were afterward transferred to Ghent. The conferences occupied a space of time of about five months. The American Commissioners were in reality negotiating with the whole British Ministry; for, whenever they addressed a Diplomatic note of any importance to the British Commissioners, it was by them transmitted to London, from which place the substance of an answer was returned in the form of instructions. The consequence was, that the American Commissioners, after having delivered a Diplomatic note, had to wait about a week before they received a reply.

In one of these pauses of the negotiation, Mr. Clay made a little excursion to Brussels, and Mr. Goulbourne went there at the same time. The British Commissioners had been in the habit of sending their English newspapers to the American Commissioners, through which the latter often derived the first intelligence of events occurring in America.

The morning after Mr. Clay's arrival in Brussels, upon his coming down to breakfast, his servant, Frederick Cara, whom he had taken with him from the City of Washington, threw some papers upon the breakfast table, and burst into tears. "What's the matter, Frederick?" The British have taken Washington, Sir, and Mr. Goulbourne has sent you those papers, which contain the account." "Is it possible?" exclaimed Mr. Clay. "It is too true, Sir" returned Frederick, whining piteously.

The news was by no means agreeable to Mr. Clay; nor was his concern diminished when he thought of the channel through which it had been conveyed to him, although fully persuaded that Mr. Goulbourne had not been actuated by any uncourteous spirit of exultation. Mr. Clay nevertheless resolved to avail himself of the first favorable opportunity for friendly retaliation; and one fortunately soon occurred. A point in the negotiation, which had been very much

pressed, was pacification with the Indians, which the American Commissioners assured the British would necessarily follow pacification with Great Britain. The former received some recent American newspapers containing an account of the actual conclusion of peace with some of the Indian tribes, but containing also an account of one of the splendid naval victories won on Lake Champlain or Lake Erie. Mr. Clay proposed to the American Commissioners, that these newspapers should be sent to the British, ostensibly for the purpose of showing that peace was made with some of the Indians, but in reality to afford them an opportunity of perusing the account of that victory. With the concurrence of his colleagues, he accordingly addressed an official note to the British Commissioners transmitting the newspapers.

The mode of transacting business among the American Commissioners was, upon the reception of an official note from the other party to deliberate fully upon its contents, and to discuss them at a board. After that, the paper was placed in the hands of one of the Commissioners to prepare an answer. Upon the preparation of that answer, it was carefully examined and considered by the board, every member of which took it to his lodgings to suggest in pencil such alterations as appeared to him proper; and these were again considered and finally adopted or rejected, and the paper handed to the Secretary to be copied and recorded.

In the composition of the official notes sent by the American to the British Commissioners, the pen of Mr. Gallatin was, perhaps, most frequently employed; then that of Mr. Adams; then that of Mr. Clay. Messrs. Bayard and Russell wrote the least.

During the progress of the negotiation and at a very critical period of it, the official dispatches of the American Commissioners, giving a full account of the prospects of the negotiation, and expressing very little hope of its successful termination, having been published by the order of the American Government, came back to the Commissioners at Ghent in the newspapers. They arrived in the evening, just as the American Commissioners were dressed to go to a ball given to the Commissioners by the authorities of Ghent. The unexpected publication of these dispatches excited the surprise and regret of the American Commissioners. Some of them thought that a rupture of the negotiation would be the consequence. Mr. Clay, on account of his open and frank manner, was on terms of more unreserved and free intercourse with the British Commissioners than any of his colleagues, and he resolved that evening to sound the former as to the effect of this publication of the dispatches. He accordingly addressed himself to the three Commissioners severally in succession at the ball, beginning with Lord Gambier, who was the most distinguished for amenity and benevolence of character, and saying: "You perceive, my Lord, that our Government has published our dispatches, and that now the whole world knows what we are doing here." "Yes," replied his Lordship, "I have seen it with infinite surprise, and the proceeding is without example in the civilized world." To which Mr. Clay mildly rejoined: "Why, my Lord, you must recollect that, at the time of the publication of those dispatches, our Government had every reason to suppose, from

the nature of the pretensions and demands, which yours brought forward, that our negotiation would not terminate successfully, and that the publication would not find us here together. I am quite sure, that if our Government had anticipated the present favorable aspect of our deliberations, the publication of the dispatches would not have been ordered. Then, your Lordship must also recollect, that if, as you truly asserted, the publication of dispatches pending a negotiation is not according to the custom of European diplomacy, our Government itself is organized upon principles totally different from those on which European Governments are constituted. With us, the business in which we were here engaged, is the people's business. We are their servants, and they have a right to know how their business is going on. The publication, therefore, was to give the people information of what intimately affected them."

Lord Gambier did not appear to be satisfied with this explanation, although he was silenced by it. Mr. Clay had a similar interview with the two other British Commissioners; and their feelings, in consequence of the publication, were marked by the degree of excitability of their respective characters. But the fears which were entertained by some of the American Commissioners were not realized. The publication was never spoken of in conference, and the negotiation proceeded to a successful issue as if it had not happened.

Between the American Commissioners, in the conduct of the negotiation at Ghent, no serious difficulty arose, except on one point, and that related to the subject of the Fisheries and navigation of the Mississippi. By the third article of the definitive Treaty of peace with Great Britain concluded in September, 1783, certain rights of fishing, and of drying and curing fish within the limits of British jurisdiction, and upon British soil, were secured to the citizens of the United States. And by the eighth article of the same Treaty, it was stipulated that the right to the navigation of the River Mississippi, from its source to the Ocean, should remain for ever free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States. The same mutual right of navigation was recognized by Mr. Jay's treaty of 1794.

When the American Commissioners were in consultation as to the project of a treaty to be presented to the consideration of the British Commissioners, it was proposed that an article should be inserted renewing those rights of taking and curing and drying fish, and of the navigation of the Mississippi. To such a proposal, Mr. Clay was decidedly opposed, and Mr. Russell concurred with him. The other three Commissioners were for making the proposal. The argument on that question was long, earnest and ardent. Mr. Clay contended, that the right of catching fish in the open seas and bays, being incontestible, the privilege of taking them and curing and drying them within the exclusive jurisdiction of Great Britain was of little or no importance, especially as it was limited to the time that the British Territory should remain unsettled. With respect to the navigation of the Mississippi, he contended, that at the dates both of the definitive Treaty of peace of 1783, and of Mr. Jay's Treaty of 1794, Spain owned the whole of the right bank of the

Mississippi, in all its extent, and both banks of it from the Mexican Gulf up to the boundary of the United States. That at both those periods, it was supposed that the British Dominions touched on the Upper Mississippi, but it was now known that they did not border at all on that river. That now the whole Mississippi, from its uppermost source to the gulf, was incontestibly within the limits of the United States. He could not, therefore, conceive the propriety of stipulating with Great Britain for a mutual right to the navigation of that river. It was the largest river in the United States; so large as to have acquired the denomination of the Father of rivers. Why select it from among all the rivers of the United States, and subject it to a foreign vassalage? Why do that in respect to the Mississippi which would not be tolerated as respects the North River, the James, or the Potomac? What would Great Britain herself think if a proposal were made that the citizens of the United States and the subjects of Great Britain should have a mutual right to navigate the Thames? To make the proposed concession, was to admit of a British partnership with the United States in the sovereignty of the Mississippi, so far as its navigation was concerned. Then there might be a doubt and a dispute whether the concession did not comprehend the tributaries as well as the principal stream. If the grant of the right to navigate the Mississippi was to be regarded as an equivalent for the concession of the fishing privileges, Mr. Clay denied that there was any affinity between the two subjects. They were as distant in their nature as they were remote from each other in their localities.

On the other side, it was contended that it would occasion regret and dissatisfaction in the United States, if any of the fishing privileges, or other privileges, which had been enjoyed before the breaking out of the War, should not be secured by the treaty of peace. That those fishing privileges were very important and dear to a section of the Union, which had been adverse to the war. That the British right to the navigation of the Mississippi was a merely nominal concession, which would not result in any practical injury to the United States. That foreigners now enjoyed the right to navigate all the rivers up to the ports of entry established upon them, without any prejudice to our interests. That Great Britain had been entitled to this right of navigating the Mississippi from the period of the acquisition of Louisiana to the Declaration of War in 1812, without any mischief or inconvenience to the United States.

To all this, Mr. Clay replied that if we lost the fishing privileges within the exclusive jurisdiction, we gained the total exemption of the Mississippi from this foreign participation with us in the right to its navigation. That the uncertainty as to the extent of privileges which the British right to navigate the Mississippi comprised, far from recommending the concession to him, formed an additional objection to it. That the period of about eight years between the acquisition of Louisiana and the Declaration of War, was too short for us to ascertain by experience what practical use Great Britain was capable of making of that right of navigation, which might be injurious to us. We knew that a great many of the Indian Tribes were situated upon the

sources of the Mississippi. The British right to navigate that river might bring her in direct contact with them, and we had sufficient experience of the pernicious use she might make of those Indians.—He was as anxious as any of his colleagues to secure all the rights of fishing, and curing and drying fish, which had hitherto been enjoyed; but he could not consent to purchase of temporary and uncertain privileges within the British limits, *at the expense of putting a foreign and degrading mark upon the noblest of all our rivers.*

After the argument, which was extended to several sessions of the consultation meetings of the American Commissioners, was exhausted, it appeared that the same three Commissioners were inclined to make the proposal. In that stage of the proceeding, Mr. Clay said, he felt it due to his colleagues to state to them *that he would affix his signature to no Treaty which should make to Great Britain the contemplated concession.* After the announcement of this determination, Mr. Bayard united with Messrs. Clay and Russell, and then formed a majority against tendering the proposal—and it was not made.

But, at a subsequent period of the negotiation, when the British Commissioners made their propositions for a Treaty, one of the propositions was to renew the British right to navigate the Mississippi simply, without including the fishing privileges in question. On examining this proposal, the American Commissioners considered, first, whether they should accept the proposal with or without conditions. All united in agreeing that it ought not to be unconditionally accepted. But the same three Commissioners who had been originally in favor of an article which should include both the Mississippi and the fishing privileges within the British limits, appeared to be now in favor of accepting the British proposal, upon the condition that it should comprehend those fishing privileges. Mr. Clay did not renew the expression of his determination to sign no Treaty which should concede to the British the right to the navigation of the Mississippi, although he remained fixed in that purpose; for he apprehended that a repetition of the expression of his determination might be misconceived by his colleagues.

It was accordingly proposed to the British Commissioners to accept their proposal with the condition just stated. In a subsequent conference between the two commissions, the British declined accepting the proposed conditions, and it was mutually agreed to leave both subjects out of the Treaty. And thus, as Mr. Clay wished from the first, the Mississippi River became liberated from all British pretensions of a right to navigate it from the Ocean to its source.

A controversy having arisen between Messrs. Adams and Russell, about the year 1823, in respect to some points in the negotiations at Ghent, an embittered correspondence took place between those two gentlemen. In the course of it, Mr. Clay thought that Mr. Adams had unintentionally fallen into some errors, which Mr. Clay, in a note addressed to the public, stated he would at some future day correct. About the year 1823 or 1829, Mr. Russell, without the previous consent of Mr. Clay, published a confidential letter addressed by Mr. Clay to him, in which Mr. C. expresses his condem-

nation of Mr. Russell's course in the alteration of some of his letters, which had been charged and proved upon him by Mr. Adams. In that same letter, Mr. Clay gives his explanation of some of the transactions at Ghent, respecting which he thought Mr. Adams was mistaken. The publication of the confidential letter superseded the necessity of making the corrections which Mr. C. had intended. In this letter, Mr. Clay in no instance impugns the motives of Mr. Adams, nor does it contain a line from which an unfriendly state of feeling on the part of the writer toward Mr. Adams could be inferred.

Such was Mr. Clay's pride of country that he had resolved not to go to England until he had heard of the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent. After the termination of the negotiations he went to Paris, and accepted the invitation of Mr. Crawford, our Minister, to take apartments in his hotel. Mr. Clay remained in Paris during upward of two months. On the night of his arrival in that brilliant metropolis, he found at Mr. Crawford's an invitation to a ball given by the American banker, Mr. Hottinguair, on the occasion of the pacification between the United States and Great Britain. There he met for the first time the celebrated Madame de Stael—was introduced to her, and had with her a long and animated conversation.

"Ah!" said she, "Mr. Clay, I have been in England, and have been battling your cause for you there."—"I know it, Madame; we heard of your powerful interposition, and we are grateful and thankful for it."—"They were very much enraged against you," said she: "so much so, that they at one time thought seriously of sending the Duke of Wellington to command their Armies against you!"—"I am very sorry, Madame," replied Mr. Clay, "that they did not send his Grace."—"Why?" asked she, surprised.—"Because, Madame, if he had beaten us, we should only have been in the condition of Europe, without disgrace. But, if we had been so fortunate as to defeat him, we should have greatly added to the renown of our arms."

The next time he met Madame de Stael was at a party at her own house, which was attended by the Marshals of France, the Duke of Wellington, and other distinguished persons. She introduced Mr. Clay to the Duke, and at the same time related the above anecdote. He replied, with promptness and politeness, that if he had been sent on that service, and had been so fortunate as to have been successful over a foe as gallant as the Americans, he would have regarded it as the proudest feather in his cap.

During his stay in Paris, Mr. Clay heard of the issue of the Battle of New-Orleans. Now," said he to his informant, "I can go to England without mortification." But he expressed himself greatly mortified at the inglorious flight *attributed*, in the Dispatches of the American General, to a portion of the Kentucky Militia, which Mr. Clay pronounced must be a mistake.

Having heard of the ratification of the Treaty of Ghent, Mr. Clay left Paris for England in March, 1815, just before the arrival of Bonaparte in the French Capital. He thus missed the opportunity of seeing the Great Corsican. He would have remained in Paris for the purpose, had he supposed the Emperor would arrive so soon. It was about this time that Louis XVIII. left Paris, and took up

his residence in Ghent, near the Hotel which the American Commissioners had recently occupied.

On his arrival in England, before any of the other American Commissioners, Mr. Clay had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, who contracted for him a high esteem, which was frequently manifested during his sojourn in England. Lord C. offered to present him to the Prince Regent. Mr. Clay said he would go through the ceremony, if it were deemed necessary or respectful. Lord Castlereagh said that, having been recognized in his public character by the British Government, it was not necessary, and that he might omit it or not, as he pleased. Mr. Clay's repugnance to the parade of Courts prevented his presentation, and he never saw the Prince. He met, however, with most of the other members of the Royal Family.

A few days after his interview with Lord Castlereagh, the keeper of the house at which Mr. Clay lodged announced a person who wished to speak with him. Mr. Clay directed him to be admitted; and, on his entrance, he perceived an individual, dressed apparently in great splendor, come forward, whom he took to be a Peer of the Realm. He rose and asked his visitor to be seated, but the latter declined, and observed that he was the First Waiter of my Lord Castlereagh! "The First Waiter of my Lord Castlereagh!" exclaimed Mr. Clay, "well, what is your pleasure with me?"—"Why, if your Excellency pleases," said the man, "it is usual for a Foreign Minister, when presented to Lord Castlereagh, to make to his First Waiter a present, or pay him the customary stipend;" at the same time handing to Mr. Clay a long list of names of Foreign Ministers, with the sum which every one had paid affixed to his name.

Mr. Clay, thinking it a vile extortion, took the paper, and, while reading it, thought how he should repel so exceptionable a demand. He returned it to the servant, telling him that, as it was the custom of the country, he presumed it was all right; but that he was not the Minister to England; Mr. Adams was the Minister, and was daily expected from Paris, and, he had no doubt, would do whatever was right. "But," said the servant, very promptly, "if your Excellency pleases, it makes no difference whether the Minister presented be the Resident Minister or a Special Minister, as I understand your Excellency to be;—it is always paid." Mr. Clay, who had come to England to argue with the master, finding himself in danger of being beaten in argument by the man, concluded it was best to conform to the usage, objectionable as he thought it; and, looking over the paper for the smallest sum paid by any other Minister, handed the fellow five guineas and dismissed him.

Mr. Clay was in London when the Battle of Waterloo was fought, and witnessed the illuminations, bonfires and rejoicings to which it gave rise. For a day or two, it was a matter of great uncertainty what had become of Napoleon. During this interval of anxious suspense, Mr. Clay dined at Lord Castlereagh's with the American Ministers, Messrs. Adams and Gallatin, and the British Ministry. Bonaparte's flight and probable place of refuge became the topics of conversation. Among other conjectures, it was suggested that he might have come to the United States; and Lord Liverpool, ad-

ressing Mr. Clay, asked:—"If he goes there, will he not give you a good deal of trouble?"—"Not the least, my Lord," replied Mr. Clay, with his habitual promptitude—"we shall be very glad to receive him; we would treat him with all hospitality, and very soon make of him a good Democrat."

The reply produced a very hearty peal of laughter from the whole company.

Mr. Clay was received in the British circles, both of the Ministry and the Opposition, with the most friendly consideration. The late Sir James Mackintosh was one of his first acquaintances in London;—and of the lamented Sir Samuel Romilly and his beautiful and accomplished lady, Mr. Clay has been heard to remark, that they presented one of the most beautiful examples of a happy man and wife that he had ever seen. He passed a most agreeable week with his Ghent friend, Lord Gambier, at Iver Grove, near Windsor Castle. Of this pious and excellent nobleman, Mr. Clay has ever retained a lively and friendly recollection. He visited with him Windsor Castle, Frogmore Lodge, the residence of the descendant of William Penn, and saw the wife of George III. and some of the daughters.

In September, 1815, Mr. Clay returned to his own country, arriving in New York, which port he had left in March, 1814. A Public Dinner was given to him and Mr. Gallatin, soon after their disembarkation. Every where, on his route homeward to his adopted State, he was received with continual demonstrations of public gratitude and approbation. In Kentucky he was hailed with every token of affection and respect. The Board of Trustees of Lexington waited upon him and presented their thanks for his eminent services in behalf of his country.

On the seventh of October, the citizens of the same town gave him a public dinner. In reply to a toast complimentary to the American negotiators, he made some brief and eloquent remarks concerning the circumstances under which the Treaty had been concluded, and the general condition of the country, both at the commencement and the close of the war. At the same festival, in reply to a toast highly complimentary to himself, he thanked the company for their kind and affectionate attention. His reception, he said, had been more like that of a brother than a common friend or acquaintance, and he was utterly incapable of finding words to express his gratitude. He compared his situation to that of a Swedish gentleman, at a festival in England, given by the Society for the Relief of Foreigners in Distress. A toast having been given, complimentary to his country, it was expected that he should address the company in reply. Not understanding the English language, he was greatly embarrassed, and said to the Chairman: "Sir, I wish you, and this Society, to consider me a *Foreigner in Distress*." "So," said Mr. Clay, evidently much affected, "I wish you to consider me a *friend in distress*."

In anticipation of his return home, Mr. Clay had been unanimously re-elected a Member of Congress from the District he formerly represented. Doubts arising as to the legality of this election, a new one was ordered, and the result was the same.

On the fourth of December, 1815, the Fourteenth Congress met, in its first session. Mr. Clay was again elected Speaker of the House of Representa-

tives, almost unanimously—receiving, upon the first balloting, eighty-seven out of one hundred and twenty-two votes cast—thirteen being the highest number given for any one of the five opposing candidates. He was, at this time, just recovering from a serious indisposition, but accepted the office in a brief and appropriate speech, acknowledging the honor conferred upon him, and pledging his best efforts for the proper discharge of its duties.

Among the important subjects which came up, that of the new Treaty was, of course, among the foremost. John Randolph and the Federalists, after having resisted the War, now took frequent occasion to sneer at the mode of its termination. On the 29th of January, 1816, Mr. Clay addressed the Committee of the House most eloquently in reply to these cavilers.

"I gave a vote," said he, "for the Declaration of War. I exerted all the little influence and talents I could command to make the War. The War was made. It is terminated. And I declare with perfect sincerity, if it had been permitted to me to lift the veil of futurity, and to have foreseen the precise series of events which has occurred, my vote would have been unchanged. We had been insulted, and outraged, and spoliated upon by almost all Europe—by Great Britain, by France, by Spain, Denmark, Naples, and, to cap the climax, by the little contemptible power of Algiers. We had submitted too long and too much. We had become the scorn of foreign powers, and the derision of our own citizens."

It had been objected by the Opposition that no provision had been made in the Treaty in regard to the impressment of our seamen by the British. On this subject, Mr. Clay said—and his argument is as conclusive as it is lofty:—"One of the great causes of the War and of its continuance was the practice of impressment exercised by Great Britain—and if this claim had been admitted by necessary implication or express stipulation, the rights of our seamen would have been abandoned! It is with utter astonishment that I hear it has been contended in this country that, because our right of exemption from the practice had not been expressly secured in the Treaty, it was, therefore, given up! It is impossible that such an argument can be advanced on this floor. No Member, who regarded his reputation, would venture to advance such a doctrine!"

In conclusion, Mr. Clay declared, on this occasion that his policy, in regard to the attitude in which the country should now be placed, was to preserve the present force, naval and military—to provide for the augmentation of the Navy—to fortify the weak and vulnerable points indicated by experience—to construct Military roads and canals—and, in short, "TO COMMERCE THE GREAT WORK OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT."

"I would see," he said, "a chain of turnpike roads and canals from Passamaquoddy to New-Orleans; and other similar roads intersecting mountains, to facilitate intercourse between all parts of the country, and to bind and connect us together. I WOULD ALSO EFFECTUALLY PROTECT OUR MANUFACTORIES. I would afford them protection, not so much for the sake of the Manufacturers themselves as for the general interest."

It was in this patriotic spirit, and impelled by this far-sighted, liberal, and truly American policy, that

Mr. Clay resumed his legislative labors in the National Councils. He has lived to carry out those truly great and Statesman-like measures of Protection and Internal Improvement, which even then began to gather shape and power in a mind ever active in the cause of his country. May he live to receive a testimonial of that country's gratitude and admiration in the bestowal upon him of the highest honor in her gift!

CHAPTER V.

Re-charter of the United States Bank—Mr. Clay's views in 1811, and 1816—Scene in the House with Randolph—The compensation bill—Cavasses his District—Skirmish with Mr. Pope—The Old Hunter and his Rifle—The Irish Barber—Repeal of the Compensation Bill—South American Independence—Internal Improvements—Mr. Clay's Relations with Mr. Madison—Intention of Madison at one time to appoint him Commander-in-Chief of the Army—Election of James Monroe—Mr. Clay carries his Measures in behalf of the South American States—His Eloquent Appeals—His Efforts Successful—His Speeches Read at the Head of the South American Armies—Letter from Bolivar—and Clay's Reply.

The financial condition of the United States at the close of the War was extremely depressed. The currency was deranged—public credit impaired—and a heavy debt impending. In his message, at the opening of the Session of 1815-16, President Madison stated the condition of public affairs, and indicated the establishment of a National Bank and of a Protective Tariff as the two great measures of relief.

On the eighth of January, 1816, Mr. Calhoun from the committee on that part of the President's Message, relating to the Currency, reported a bill to incorporate the subscribers to a Bank of the United States.

It will be remembered that Mr. Clay in 1811, while a member of the Senate, had opposed the re-chartering of the old Bank. His reasons for now advocating the bill before the House have been fully and freely communicated to the public.

When the application was made to renew the old charter of the Bank of the United States, such an institution did not appear to him to be so necessary to the fulfilment of any of the objects specifically enumerated in the Constitution as to justify Congress in assuming, by construction, power to establish it. It was supported mainly upon the ground that it was indispensable to the treasury operations. But the local institutions in the several States were at that time in prosperous existence, confided in by the community, having confidence in one another, and maintaining an intercourse and connection the most intimate. Many of them were actually employed by the Treasury to aid that department in a part of its fiscal arrangements; and they appeared to him to be fully capable of affording to it all the facility that it ought to desire in all of them. They superseded in his judgment the necessity of a National Institution.

But how stood the case in 1816, when he was called upon again to examine the power of the General Government to incorporate a National Bank? A total change of circumstances was presented. Events of the utmost magnitude had intervened. A suspension of specie payments had taken place. The currency of the country was completely vitiated. The Government issued paper bearing an interest of six per cent, which it pledged the faith of the country to redeem. For this paper, guaranteed by the honor and faith of the Government, there was obtained for ev-

ery one hundred dollars, eighty dollars from those banks which suspended specie payments. The experience of the War therefore showed the necessity of a Bank. The country could not get along without it. Mr. Clay had then changed his opinion on the subject, and he had never attempted to disguise the fact. In his position as Speaker of the House, he might have locked up his opinion in his own breast. But with that candor and fearlessness which have ever distinguished him, he had come forward, as honest men ought to come forward, and expressed his change of opinion, at the time when President Madison and other eminent men changed their course in relation to the Bank.

The Constitution confers on Congress the power to coin Money and to regulate the value of Foreign Coins: and the States are prohibited to coin money, to emit bills of credit, or to make any thing but gold or silver coin a tender in payment of debts. The plain inference was, that the subject of the general currency was intended to be submitted exclusively to the General Government. In point of fact, however, the regulation of the General Currency was in the hands of the State Governments, or, what was the same thing, of the Banks created by them. Their paper had every quality of money, except that of being made a tender, and even this was imparted to it, by some States, in the law by which a creditor must receive it, or submit to a ruinous suspension of the payment of his debt.

It was incumbent upon Congress to recover the control which it had lost over the General Currency. The remedy called for was one of cation and moderation, but of firmness. Whether a remedy, directly acting upon the Banks and their paper thrown into circulation, was in the power of the General Government or not, neither Congress nor the community were prepared for the application of such a remedy.

An indirect remedy of a milder character seemed to be furnished by a National Bank. Going into operation with the powerful aid of the Treasury of the United States, Mr. Clay believed it would be highly instrumental in the renewal of specie payments. Coupled with the other measure adopted by Congress for that object, he believed the remedy effectual. The local Banks must follow the example, which the National Bank would set them, of redeeming their notes by the payment of specie, or their notes would be discredited and put down.

If the Constitution, then, warranted the establishment of a Bank, other considerations, besides those already mentioned, strongly urged it. The want of a general medium was everywhere felt. Exchange varied continually, not only between different parts of the Union, but between different parts of the same City. If the paper of a National Bank were not redeemed in specie, it would be much better than the current paper, since though its value, in comparison with specie, might fluctuate, it would afford an uniform standard.

During this discussion of 1816, on the Bank Charter, a collision arose between Messrs. Clay and Randolph, which produced great sensation for the moment, and which it was apprehended might lead to serious consequences. Although Mr. Clay had changed his own opinion in regard to a Bank, he did not feel authorized to seek, in private inter-

course, to influence that of others, and observed a silence and reserve not usual to him, on the subject. Mr. Randolph commented on this fact, and used language, which might bear an offensive interpretation. When he was done, Mr. Clay rose with perfect coolness, but evidently with a firm determination, and adverting to the offensive language, observed that it required explanation, and that he should forbear saying what it became him to say until he heard the explanation, if any, which the Member from Virginia had to make. He sat down. Mr. Randolph rose and made an explanation. Mr. Clay again rose, and said that the explanation was not satisfactory. Whereupon Mr. R. again got up and disclaimed expressly all intentional offence.

During the transaction of this scene, the most intense anxiety and the most perfect stillness pervaded the House. You might have heard a pin fall in any part of it.

The bill to re-charter the Bank was discussed for several weeks in the House. The vote was taken, on its third reading, on the 14th of March, 1816, when it was passed: 80 Ayes to 71 Nays: and sent to the Senate for concurrence. On the 2d of April, after the bill reported by the Financial Committee had received a full and thorough discussion, it was finally passed in that body by a vote of 22 to 12—two Members only being absent. The amendments of the Senate were speedily adopted by the House, and on the 10th of April the bill became a law, by the signature of the President. The wisdom of the supporters of the measure was soon made manifest in the fact, that the Institution more than realized the most sanguine hopes of its friends. During the period of its existence the United States enjoyed a currency of unexampled purity and uniformity; and the bills of the Bank were as acceptable as silver in every quarter of the Globe. In another part of this memoir will be found an outline of such a Fiscal Institution as Mr. Clay would be in favor of, *whenever a majority of the people of the United States might demand the establishment of a National Bank.*

On the 6th of March, 1816, Col. Richard M. Johnson, from a Committee appointed for the purpose, reported a bill changing the mode of compensation to Members of Congress. The pay of Members at that time was six dollars a day—an amount which, from its inadequacy, threatened to place the legislation of the country in the hands of the wealthy. The new bill gave Members a salary of fifteen hundred dollars a year—to the presiding officer twice that amount. It passed both houses without opposition. Mr. Clay preferred the increase of the daily compensation to the institution of a salary, but the majority were against him, and he acquiesced in their decision.

He never canvassed for a seat in the House of Representatives but on one occasion, and that was after the passage of this unpalatable bill. It produced very great dissatisfaction throughout the United States, and extended to the district which he represented. Mr. Pope, a gentleman of great abilities, was his competitor. They had several skirmishes at popular meetings, with various success; but having agreed upon a general action, they met at Higbie, a central place and convenient of access to the three counties composing the district. A vast

multitude assembled; and the rival candidates occupied in their addresses the greater part of the day.

Instead of confining himself to a defence of the Compensation Bill, which he never heartily approved in the form of an annual salary to Members of Congress, Mr. Clay carried the war into the enemy's country. He attacked Mr. Pope's vote against the Declaration of War with Great Britain, dwelt on the wrongs and injuries which that power had inflicted on the United States, pointed out his inconsistency in opposing the War upon the ground of a want of preparation to prosecute it, and yet having been willing to declare War against both France and Great Britain. Thus he put his competitor on the defensive. The effect of the discussion was powerful and triumphant on the side of Mr. Clay. From that day his success was no longer doubtful, and, accordingly, at the election which shortly after ensued, he was chosen by a majority of six or seven hundred votes.

During the canvass, Mr. Clay encountered an old hunter, who had always before been his warm friend, but was now opposed to his election on account of the Compensation Bill. "Have you a good rifle, my friend?" asked Mr. Clay. "Yes." "Does it ever flash!" "Once only," he replied. "What did you do with it—throw it away?" "No, I picked the flint, tried it again, and brought down the game." "Have I ever flashed but upon the Compensation Bill?" "No." "Will you throw me away?" "No, no!" exclaimed the hunter, with enthusiasm, nearly overpowered by his feelings: "I will pick the flint, and try you again!" He was afterward a warm supporter of Mr. Clay.

This anecdote reminds us of another, which is illustrative of that trait of boldness and self-possession, in the manifestation of which Mr. Clay has never been known to fail during his public career. At the time that he was a candidate for election to the Legislature of Kentucky in 1803, while passing a few weeks at the Olympian Springs, a number of hunters, old and young, assembled to hear him make a "stump speech." When he had finished, one of the audience, an ancient Nimrod, who had stood leaning upon his rifle for some time, regarding the young orator with keen attention, commenced a conversation with him.

"Young man," said he, "you want to go to the Legislature, I see?"

"Why, yes," replied Mr. Clay, "since I have consented to be a candidate, I would prefer not to be defeated."

"Are you a good shot?"

"Try me."

"Very well; I would like to see a specimen of your qualifications for the Legislature. Come: we must see you shoot."

"But I have no rifle here."

"No matter: here is old Bess; and she never fails in the hands of a marksman; she has often sent death through a squirrel's head at one hundred yards, and daylight through many a red-skin twice that distance; if you can shoot with any gun, you can shoot with old Bess."

"Well, well: put up your mark, put up your mark," said Mr. Clay.

The target was placed at the distance of about eighty yards, when, with all the coolness and stead-

iness of an experienced marksman, he lifted "old Bess" to his shoulder, fired, and pierced the very centre of the target.

"Oh, a chance shot! a chance shot!" exclaimed several of his political opponents. "He might shoot all day, and not hit the mark again. Let him try it over—let him try it over."

"No; beat that and then I will," retorted Mr. Clay. But as no one seemed disposed to make the attempt, it was considered that he had given satisfactory proof of his superiority as a marksman; and this felicitous accident gained him the vote of every hunter in the assembly. The most remarkable feature in the transaction remains to be told. "I had never," said Mr. Clay, "fired a rifle before, and never have since." It is needless to add that the election resulted in his favor.

An Irish barber, residing in Lexington, had supported Mr. Clay with great zeal at all elections, when he was a candidate, prior to the passage of the Compensation Bill. The fellow's unrestrained passions had frequently involved him in scrapes and difficulties, on which occasions Mr. Clay generally defended him and got him out of them. During the canvass, after the Compensation Bill, the barber was very reserved, took no part in the election, and seemed indifferent to its fate. He was often importuned to state for whom he meant to vote, but declined. At length, a few days before the election, he was addressed by Dr. W——, a gentleman for whom he entertained the highest respect, and pressed to say to whom he meant to give his suffrage. Looking at the inquirer with great earnestness and shrewdness, he said: "I tell you what, 'doethur, I mane to vote for the man that can put 'but one hand into the Treasury.'" Mr. Pope had the misfortune to lose, in early life, one of his arms, and here lay the point of the Irishman's reply.

It is due to the memory of Jeremiah Murphy, the barber, to state that he repented of his ingratitude to Mr. Clay, whom he met one day in the streets of Lexington, and, accosting him, burst into tears, and told him that he had wronged him; and that his poor wife had got round him, crying and reproaching him for his conduct, saying: "Do n't you remember, Jerry, when you were in jail, Mr. Clay 'came to you, and made that beast, William B——, 'the jailor, let you out?'"

Having found that the sentiments of his constituents were decidedly opposed to the Compensation Bill, Mr. Clay, at the ensuing session, voted for its repeal. A daily allowance of eight dollars to every Member was substituted for the salary of fifteen hundred dollars.

During the month of February, a bill was introduced, setting apart and pledging as a fund for Internal Improvement the bonus of the United States' share of the dividends of the National Bank. As may be presumed, this measure received the hearty support of Mr. Clay. Without entering at length into a discussion of the subject, he expressed a wish only to say that "He had long thought there were 'no two subjects which could engage the attention 'of the National Legislature, more worthy of its deliberate consideration than those of Internal Improvements and Domestic Manufactures.'" For Constitutional reasons, President Madison withheld

his signature from this bill, much to the surprise of his friends.

During the administration of Mr. Madison, Mr. Clay was, on two separate occasions, offered a seat in his Cabinet, or the Mission to Russia, by that distinguished Chief Magistrate. He declined them both. Mr. Madison appears to have had the highest estimate of his talents and worth. Indeed, so impressed was he with the eminent and versatile abilities of Mr. Clay, that he had selected him, at the commencement of the War, to be *Commander in Chief of the Army*. The nomination was not made, solely because Mr. Clay could not be spared from Congress, where his powerful mind and paramount influence enabled him to render services superior to any that could have been rendered in any other position.

On the fourth of March, 1817, James Monroe took the oath prescribed by the Constitution, and entered upon the duties of the Presidency of the United States. The first session of the Fifteenth Congress commenced the ensuing December. Mr. Clay was again chosen Speaker.

It would be impossible in the brief space we have allotted to ourselves to present even a brief abstract of his remarks upon the many important topics which now claimed the attention of Congress. We must content ourselves with a succinct account of the leading measures with which his name and his fame have become identified.

In his speech on the state of the Union in January, 1816, he had expressed his sympathies in behalf of the South American Colonists, who were then struggling to throw off the yoke of the Mother Country. The Supreme Congress of the Mexican Republic afterwards voted him their thanks "for the disinterested, manly and generous sentiments he expressed 'on the floor of the House for the welfare of the Infant Republic.'"

In the debate on the proposition to reduce the Direct Taxation of the Country, he had alluded to the existing peaceful condition of the United States, and had hinted the possibility of hostilities with Spain. He had heard that the Minister of that Nation had demanded the surrender of a portion of our soil—that part of Florida lying west of the Perdido. Without speaking of it as it deserved—of the impudence of such a demand—he alluded to it as indicative of the disposition of the Spanish Government. "Besides," said he, "who can tell with certainty how far it may 'be proper to aid the people of South America in the 'establishment of their Independence?' The subject, he avowed, had made a deep impression on his mind; and he was not in favor of exhausting, by direct taxes, the country of those funds which might be needed to vindicate its rights at home, or, if necessary, to aid the cause of Liberty in South America."

These remarks aroused all the spleen of Mr. Randolph. "As for South America," said he, in his reply to Mr. Clay, "I am not going a-tilting for the 'liberties of her People; they came not to our aid; let us mind our own business, and not tax our People for the liberties of the People of Spanish America.'" He went on to ridicule the notion that the People of Caracas and Mexico were capable either of enjoying or of understanding liberty and insinuated that Mr. Clay was influenced by a desire of

conquest. "The honorable gentleman," he said "had been sent on a late occasion to Europe; he 'had been near the field of Waterloo, and, he feared, 'had snuffed the carnage and caught the infection.'" "What!" said he, "increase our Standing Army in 'time of peace, on the suggestion that we are to go 'on a crusade to South America?" Mr. Clay intimated that he had advocated no such measure.—"Do I not understand the gentleman?" said Mr. Randolph; "I am sorry I do not; I labor under two 'great misfortunes—one is that I can never understand the honorable Speaker—the other is that he 'can never understand me: on such terms, an argument can never be maintained between us, and I 'shall, therefore, put an end to it." Mr. Clay simply expressed his surprise that he could so have misunderstood his remarks, and deferred the general argument to another occasion.

Soon after, on a proposition to "prevent our citizens from selling vessels of war to a foreign power," Mr. Clay opposed the bill, on account of its evident bearing upon the question of South American Independence; it would every where be understood as a law framed expressly to prevent the offer of the slightest aid to these Republics by our citizens.—"With respect to the nature of their struggle," he said, "I have not now, for the first time, to express 'my opinion and wishes. I wish them Independent. It is the first step towards improving their 'condition."

During the summer of 1816, the President had appointed Messrs. Rodney, Graham and Bland, Commissioners to proceed to South America, to ascertain the condition of the country. In March, 1818, the Appropriation Bill being before the House, Mr. Clay objected to the clause appropriating \$30,000 for their compensation, as unconstitutional. He then offered an amendment, appropriating eighteen thousand dollars as the outfit and one year's salary of a Minister, to be deputed from the United States to the Independent Provinces of the River La Plata, in South America. The amendment was lost; but Mr. Clay's speech in support of it was one of his most memorable efforts. Both Congress and the President were opposed to any recognition of the Independence of the South American Colonists. In rising to promulgate views hostile to theirs, Mr. Clay said that, much as he valued those friends, in and out of the House, from whom he differed, he could not hesitate when reduced to the distressing alternative of conforming his judgment to theirs, or pursuing the deliberate and matured dictates of his own mind.

He maintained that an oppressed People were authorized, whenever they could, to rise and break their fetters. This was the great principle of the English Revolution. It was the great principle of our own. Vattel, if authority were wanting, expressly supports this right.

Mr. Clay said he was no propagandist. He would not seek to force upon other nations our principles and our liberty, if they did not want them. He would not disturb the repose even of a despicable despotism. But, if an abused and oppressed People willed their freedom; if they sought to establish it; if, in truth, they had established it, we had a right, as a sovereign power, to notice the fact, and to act as circumstances and our interest required.

The Opposition had argued that the People of Spanish America were too ignorant and superstitious to appreciate and conduct an independent and free system of Government. We believe it is Macaulay, who says of this plea of ignorance as an argument against emancipation, that with just as much propriety might you argue against a person's going into the water until he knew how to swim.—Mr. Clay denied the alleged fact of the ignorance of the Colonists.

With regard to their superstition, he said: "They worshipped the same God with us. Their prayers were offered up in their temples to the same Redeemer, whose intercession we expected to save us. *Nor was there anything in the Catholic religion unfavorable to freedom.* All religions united with government were more or less inimical to liberty. All separated from government were compatible with liberty."

Having shown that the cause of the South American patriots was just, Mr. Clay proceeded to inquire what course of policy it became us to adopt. He maintained that a recognition of their independence was compatible with perfect neutrality and with the most pacific relations toward old Spain. Recognition alone, without aid, was no just cause of war. With aid, it was; not because of the recognition, but because of the aid, as aid, without recognition, was cause of war.

After demonstrating that the United States were bound, on their own principles, to acknowledge the Independence of the United Provinces of the river Plate, he alluded to the improbability that any of the European Monarchies would set the example of recognition. "Are we not bound," he asked, "upon our own principles, to acknowledge this new republic? If WE do not, *who will?*"

The simple words, "*who will?*" are said, by an intelligent observer, who was present, to have been uttered in a tone of such thrilling pathos as to stir the deepest sensibilities of the audience. It is by such apparently simple appeals that Mr. Clay, with the aid of his exquisitely modulated voice, often produces the most powerful and lasting effects.

We shall not attempt to present a summary of this magnificent address. "No abstract," says one who heard it, "can furnish an adequate idea of a speech, which, as an example of argumentative oratory, may be safely tried by the test of the most approved models of any age or country. Rich in all the learning connected with the subject; methodized in an order which kept that subject constantly before the hearer, and enabled the meanest capacity to follow the speaker without effort, through a long series of topics, principal and subsidiary; at once breathing sentiments of generous philanthropy and teaching lessons of wisdom; presenting a variety of illustrations which strengthened the doctrines that they embellished; and uttering prophecies, on which, though rejected by the infidelity of the day, time has stamped the seal of truth: this speech will descend to the latest posterity and remain embalmed in the praises of mankind, long after the tumults of military ambition and the plots of political profligacy have passed into oblivion."

After repeated efforts and repeated failures to carry his generous measures in behalf of South American Liberty, Mr. Clay, on the tenth of February

1821, submitted for consideration a resolution declaring that the House of Representatives participated with the people of the United States, in the deep interest which they felt for the success of the Spanish Provinces of South America, which were struggling to establish their liberty and independence; and that it would give its constitutional support to the President of the United States, whenever he might deem it expedient to recognize the sovereignty and independence of those Provinces.

On this resolution, a debate of nearly four hours ensued, in which Mr. Clay sustained the principal part. Only twelve Members voted against the first clause of it; and on the second, the votes were eighty-seven for, and sixty-eight against it. The question was then taken on the resolution as a whole, and carried in the affirmative; and Mr. Clay immediately moved that a Committee of two Members should be appointed, to present it to President Monroe. Although such a course was not very usual, a Committee was accordingly ordered, and Mr. Clay was appointed its Chairman. It was a great triumph. He had been long and ardently engaged in the cause, and, during a greater part of the time, opposed by the whole weight of Mr. Monroe's administration. And when he was appointed Chairman of the Committee, to present the resolution, Mr. Monroe's friends regarded it as a personal insult, and Mr. Nelson, of Virginia, one of the warmest of them, retired from the Capitol, after the adjournment of the House, denouncing the act in the loudest tones of his remarkable voice, on his way down the Pennsylvania Avenue, as an unprecedented indignity to the Chief Magistrate.

On the 8th day of March, 1822, the President sent a Message to the House of Representatives, recommending the recognition of South American Independence. The recommendation was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, which, on the 19th of the same month, reported in favor of the recommendation, and of an appropriation to carry it into effect. The vote of recognition was finally passed on the 28th, with but a single dissenting voice.

Such is a brief sketch of Mr. Clay's magnanimous efforts in behalf of South American Independence. His zeal in the cause was unalloyed by one selfish impulse or one personal aim. He could hope to gain no political capital by his course. He appealed to no sectional interest; sustained no party policy; labored for no wealthy client; secured the influence of no man, or set of men, in his championship of a remote, unfriended and powerless people. Congress and the President were vehemently opposed to his proposition. But in the face of discomfiture, he persevered till he succeeded in making converts of his opponents, and in effecting the triumph of his measure. Almost single-handed, he sustained it through discouragement and hostility, till it was crowned with success.

The effect of his spirit-stirring appeals in cheering the patriots of South America, was most gratifying and decided. His memorable plea of March, 1818, was, as one of his most embittered adversaries has told us, read at the head of the South American Armies, to exalt their enthusiasm in battle, and quicken the consummation of their triumphs.

The following letter from Bolivar, with Mr. Clay's reply, belongs to this period of his history:

BOGOTA, 21st November, 1827.

"SIR: I cannot omit availing myself of the opportunity offered me by the departure of Col. Watts, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, of taking the liberty of addressing your Excellency. This desire has long been entertained by me for the purpose of expressing my admiration of your Excellency's brilliant talents and ardent love of liberty. All America, Columbia, and myself owe your Excellency our purest gratitude for the incomparable services you have rendered to us, by sustaining our course with a sublime enthusiasm. Accept, therefore, this sincere and cordial testimony, which I hasten to offer to your excellency, and to the Government of the United States, who have so greatly contributed to the emancipation of your Southern brethren.

"I have the honor to offer to your Excellency my distinguished consideration.

"Your Excellency's obedient servant,

"BOLIVAR."

The following is a characteristic extract from Mr. Clay's Reply:

"WASHINGTON, 27th October, 1828.

"SIR: It is very gratifying to me to be assured directly by your Excellency, that the course which the Government of the United States took on this memorable occasion, and my humble efforts, have excited the gratitude and commanded the approbation of your Excellency. I am persuaded that I do not misinterpret the feelings of the people of the United States, as I certainly express my own, in saying, that the interest which was inspired in this country by the arduous struggles of South America, *arose principally from the hope, that, along with its Independence, would be established Free Institutions, insuring all the blessings of Civil Liberty. To the accomplishment of that object we still anxiously look.* We are aware that great difficulties oppose it, among which, not the least, is that which arises out of the existence of a large military force, raised for the purpose of resisting the power of Spain. Standing armies, organized with the most patriotic intentions, are dangerous instruments.—They devour the substance, debauch the morals, and too often destroy the liberties of the people. nothing can be more perilous or unwise than to retain them after the necessity has ceased, which led to their formation, especially if their numbers are disproportionate to the revenues of the State.

"But, notwithstanding all these difficulties, we had fondly cherished, and still indulge the hope, that South America would add a new triumph to the cause of Human Liberty; and, that Providence would bless her, as He had her Northern sister, with the genius of some great and virtuous man, to conduct her securely through all her trials. We had even flattered ourselves, that we beheld that genius in your excellency. But I should be unworthy of the consideration with which your Excellency honors me, and deviate from the frankness which I have ever endeavored to practice, *if I did not, on this occasion, state, that ambitious designs have been attributed by your enemies to your Excellency which have created in my mind great solicitude.* They have cited late events in Colombia as proofs of these designs. But slow in the withdrawal of confidence, which I have once given, I have been most unwilling to credit the unfavorable accounts which have from time to time reached me. I cannot allow myself to believe, that your Excellency will abandon the bright and glorious path which lies plainly before you, for the bloody road passing over the liberties of the human race, on which the vulgar crowds of tyrants and military despots have so often trodden. I will not doubt, that your Excellency will, in due time, render a satisfactory explanation to Colombia and the world, of the parts of your public conduct which have excited any distrust; and that, preferring the true

glory of our immortal Washington to the ignoble fame of the destroyers of Liberty, you have formed the patriotic resolution of ultimately placing the freedom of Colombia upon a firm and sure foundation. That your efforts to that end may be crowned with complete success, I most fervently pray.

"I request that your Excellency will accept assurances of my sincere wishes for your happiness and prosperity.

H. CLAY."

The disinterestedness of Mr. Clay's motives, in his course toward the South American Republics, was forcibly displayed in his frank and open appeal to Bolivar. Had his object been to acquire influence and popularity among the people of those countries, he would hardly have addressed such plain reproaches and unpalatable truths to a Chief who was all powerful with them at the time. But in a cause where the freedom of any portion of mankind was implicated, Mr. Clay was never known to hesitate, to reckon his own interests, or to weigh the consequences to himself from an avowal of his own opinions. On all subjects, indeed, he is far above disguise; and though he may sometimes incur the charge of indiscretion by his uncalculating candor and fearless transparency of sentiment, the trait is one which claims for him our affection and confidence. Independent in his opinions as in his actions, no suggestion of self-interest could ever interpose an obstacle to the bold and magnanimous utterance of the former, or to the conscientious discharge of the latter.

CHAPTER VI.

Internal Improvement—Mr. Monroe's Constitutional Objections—Mr. Clay replies to them—Congress adopts his Principles—The Cumberland Road—Anecdote—Monument—Discussion of General Jackson's conduct in the Seminole Campaign—Mr. Clay's Opinions of that Chieftain in 1819—A Prophectic Glimpse—Mr. Adams and General Jackson—The Father of the American System—Bill to regulate Duties, &c.—Mr. Clay's Speech in behalf of the Protective Policy—His Great Speech of 1824—Passage of the Tariff Bill—Results of his Policy—Voice of the Country—His unremitting Exertions—Randolph's Sarcasms—Anecdote.

WE have seen that from an early period Mr. Clay was an advocate of the doctrine of Internal Improvement. His Speech in Congress in 1806 had been in vindication of the policy authorizing the erection of a bridge across the Potomac River. In the passages we have quoted from his Speech of January, 1816, he declared himself in favor not only of a system of Internal Improvement, but of Protection to our Manufactures.

It will be remembered that the bill appropriating for purposes of Internal Improvement the bonus which was to be paid by the Bank of the United States to the General Government, after having been passed by Congress, had been returned by President Madison without his signature, in consequence of Constitutional objections to the bill. Mr. Clay had been much surprised at this act; for Mr. Madison, in one of his Messages, had said:—"I particularly invite again the attention of Congress 'to the expediency of exercising their existing powers, and, where necessary, of resorting to the prescribed mode of enlarging them, in order to effectuate a comprehensive system of Roads and Canals, such as will have the effect of drawing more closely together every part of our Country, by promoting intercourse and improvements, and

‘by increasing the share of every part in the common stock of national prosperity.’”

Mr. Monroe, in anticipation of the action of Congress, had expressed an opinion in his Message opposed to the right of Congress to establish a system of International Improvement. Mr. Jefferson's authority was also cited to show that, under the Constitution, Roads and Canals could not be constructed by the General Government without the consent of the State or States through which they were to pass. Thus three successive Presidents had opposed the proposition.

Against this weight of precedent, Mr. Clay undertook to persuade Congress of their power under the Constitution to appropriate money for the construction of Military Roads, Post Roads and Canals. A Resolution, embodying a clause to this effect, came before the House in March, 1818; and he lent to it his unremitting advocacy.

In regard to the Constitutionality of the proposed measure, he contended that the power to *construct* Post Roads is expressly granted in the power to *ESTABLISH Post Roads*. With respect to Military Roads, the concession that they might be made when called for by the emergency, was admitting that the Constitution conveyed the power. “And ‘we may safely appeal,’” said Mr. Clay, “to the judgment of the candid and enlightened to decide between the wisdom of those two constructions, ‘of which one requires you to wait for the exercise of your power until the arrival of an emergency which may not allow you to exert it; and the other, without denying you the power, if you can exercise it during the emergency, claims the right of providing beforehand against the emergency.’”

Mr. Clay's motion, recognizing in Congress the Constitutional power to make appropriations for Internal Improvements, was finally carried by a vote of 90 to 75. The victory was a most signal one, obtained, as it was, over the transmitted prejudices of two previous Administrations, and the active opposition of the one in power.

From that period to his final retirement from the Senate he was the ever-vigilant and persevering advocate of Internal Improvements. He was the father of the System, and has ever been its most efficient upholder. On the 16th of January, 1824, he addressed the House upon a bill authorizing the President to effect certain surveys and estimates of Roads and Canals.

The opponents of the system, including President Monroe, had claimed that, in respect to post-roads, the General Government had no other authority than to use such as had been previously established by the States. They asserted that to repair such roads was not within the Constitutional power of Government. Mr. Monroe gave his direct sanction to this doctrine, maintaining that the States were at full liberty to alter, and of course to shut up, post-roads at pleasure.

“Is it possible,” said Mr. Clay, “that this construction of the Constitution can be correct—a construction which allows a law of the United States, enacted for the good of the whole, to be obstructed or defeated in its operation by a County Court in any one of the twenty-four Sovereignities?”

To Mr. Clay's strenuous and persevering exertions

for the continuance of the great Cumberland Road across the Alleghanies, the records of Congress will bear ample and constantly recurring testimony. He himself has said:—“We have had to beg, entreat, ‘supplicate you, session after session, to grant the ‘necessary appropriations to complete the Road. I ‘have myself toiled until my powers have been exhausted and prostrated, to prevail on you to make ‘the grant.’ His courageous efforts were at length rewarded; and to him we are indebted for the most magnificent road in the United States.

At a dinner given to him a few years since by the mechanics of Wheeling, Mr. Clay spoke warmly, and with something like a parental feeling, of this Road—expressing a wish that it might be retained, improved and extended by the Nation. He illustrated its importance by observing that, before it was made, he and his family had expended a whole day of toilsome and fatiguing travel to pass the distance of about nine miles, from Uniontown to Freeman's, on the summit of Laurel Hill; adding that eighty miles over that and other mountains were now made in one day by the public stage. He said that the Road was the only comfortable pass across the mountains, and that he would not consent to give it up to the keeping of the States through which it happened to run. The People of nine States might thus be interfered with in their communication with the rest of the Union.

The country has not been wholly unmindful of Mr. Clay's pre-eminent services in behalf of this beneficent measure. On the Cumberland Road stands a Monument of stone, surmounted by the Genius of Liberty, and bearing as an inscription the name of “HENRY CLAY.”

During the second session of the Fifteenth Congress, in January, 1819, the subject of Gen. Andrew Jackson's conduct in his celebrated Florida campaign came up for discussion. That Chieftain, after subjecting the vanquished Indians to conditions the most cruel and impracticable, had hung two prisoners of war, Arbuthnot and Ambrister, and concluded his series of outrages by lawlessly seizing the Spanish posts of St. Marks and Pensacola.

Committees of the Senate and of the House made reports reprobatory of his conduct; and resolutions were presented, containing four propositions. The first asserted the disapprobation of the House of the proceedings in the trial and execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. The second contemplated the passage of a law to prevent the execution hereafter of any captive taken by the Army, without the approbation of the President. The third proposition was expressive of the disapproval of the forcible seizure of the Spanish posts, as contrary to orders, and in violation of the Constitution. The fourth proposition was that a law should pass to prohibit the march of the Army of the United States, or any corps of it, into any foreign territory, without the previous authorization of Congress, except it were in fresh pursuit of a defeated enemy.

We will not attempt an abstract of Mr. Clay's eloquent and argumentative Speech* in support of these propositions. Far less disposed are we to re-

* See the “Life and Speeches of Henry Clay. Two vols. 8vo. With Engravings. New-York: Greeley & McElrath, Tribune Buildings.” These two capacious volumes are afforded at One Dollar—a miracle of cheapness.

peat the discreditable history of the wrongs and usurpations perpetrated by Gen. Jackson. It may be proper to state, however, that Mr. Clay, grateful for the public services of the General, treated him with a forbearance and kindness which rendered the sincerity of his animadversions the more obvious.—“With respect to the purity of his intentions,” said Mr. Clay, “I am disposed to allow it in the most extensive degree. Of his *acts* it is my duty to speak with the freedom which belongs to my station.”

The Speaker then proceeded to expose, in a most forcible point of view, the dangerous and arbitrary character of those acts, and the Constitutional violations of which Gen. Jackson had been guilty.—There are many passages in this speech which, when we regard them in connection with the subsequent Presidential usurpations of the same Military Chief, seem truly like prophetic glimpses. Take, for example, the concluding paragraph :

“Gentlemen may bear down all opposition ; they may even vote the General the public thanks ; they may carry him triumphantly through this House. But, if they do, in my humble judgment *it will be a triumph of the principle of insubordination—a triumph of the Military over the Civil authority—a triumph over the powers of this House—a triumph over the Constitution of the land.* And I pray most devoutly to Heaven that it may not prove, in its ultimate effects, a triumph over the liberties of the People.”

Even at that distant day, Mr. Clay saw in the conduct of General Jackson the indications of that imperious will—of that spirit of insubordination—which, dangerous as they were in a Military Commander, were not less pernicious and alarming in a Civil Chief Magistrate. With his keen, instinctive faculty of penetration, he discovered the despotic and impulsive character of the man. Every page of his speech on the Seminole campaign furnishes evidence of this fact.

How, then, when the question was presented to him of deciding between the qualifications of John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson for the Presidency of the United States—how could Henry Clay, as a consistent and honorable man, hesitate for a moment in his choice ? And yet an amount of obloquy and vituperation, such as never before was heaped upon a public servant, has been lavished on him because of his refusing to vote for General Jackson on that occasion ! Had he done so, he would have been false to his past professions and convictions—false to conscience, to patriotism, and the plainest dictates of duty.

The resolutions of censure, being strenuously opposed by Mr. Monroe and his cabinet, were lost in the House by a small majority. The dispassionate judgment of posterity will inevitably accord with the views so eloquently expressed by Mr. Clay in regard to General Jackson's conduct in Florida.

We come now to one of the most important epochs in Mr. Clay's public history. In the opinion of a large portion of the people of the United States, it is to his long-continued, arduous and triumphant efforts in the cause of Protection to American Industry and skill, that he will be indebted for his highest and most enduring fame. We have seen that as far back as 1810, he laid the foundation-stone of that great and beneficent American System, of which he was the originator and the architect.

To specify and describe all his labors in the establishment and advancement of his noble policy, from that time to the period of his retirement from the Senate, would alone fill more space than we can give to his whole life. The journals of Congress and the political newspapers of the country for the last thirty years will be found to be occupied to no inconsiderable extent with the record of his efforts and arguments and untiring appeals. We can present but a very imperfect outline of his glorious though peaceful achievements in the cause of human industry, labor and prosperity.

On the twelfth of March, 1816, Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina, from the Committee of Ways and Means, introduced before the House a bill “to Regulate the Duties on Imports and Tonnage, &c.” The bill was avowedly favorable to a Tariff of Protection ; and, strange as the record may seem, one of its most ardent supporters was John C. Calhoun. The whole question was debated with reference to the Protective policy. It was thoroughly discussed in Committee of the Whole ; and, through the exertions of Mr. Clay, a higher duty was adopted for the important article of woolens. The amendment, however, was unfortunately lost in the House ; but the bill, such as it was, was passed.

In the spring of 1820, the subject of a Tariff again came before Congress ; and Mr. Clay made a most interesting and impressive speech in favor of Protective Duties. “I frankly own,” said he on this occasion, “that I feel great solicitude for the success of this bill. The entire independence of my country on all foreign States, as it respects a supply of our essential wants, has ever been with me a favorite object. The War of our Revolution effected our political emancipation. The Last War contributed greatly towards accomplishing our commercial freedom. *But our complete independence will only be consummated after the policy of this bill shall be recognized and adopted.* We have indeed great difficulties to contend with ; old habits—colonial usages—the enormous profits of a foreign trade, prosecuted under favorable circumstances, which no longer continue. I will not despair. The cause, I verily believe, is the cause of the country. It may be postponed ; it may be frustrated for the moment, but it finally must prevail.” And it *was* postponed ; it *was* frustrated for the moment ; but it finally *did* prevail.

The Tariff was remodelled by the House, but their bill was rejected by the Senate.

In 1823, the health of Mr. Clay was very poor—so much so, that his life was despaired of both by his friends and himself. He had attended the Olympian Springs in Kentucky, in the summer, had been placed under a strict regimen and subjected to a long course of medicine. In spite of all remedies he felt a gradual decline, and looked forward to a speedy dissolution. In November he was to start for Washington, and fully anticipated that, after reaching that city, if he reached it at all, he should be obliged to hasten to the South as a last resort. He procured a small travelling carriage and a saddle-horse—threw aside all the prescriptions of the physician, and commenced his journey. Daily he walked on foot, drove in his carriage and rode on horseback. He arrived at Washington quite well, was elected Speaker, and went through more labor than he ever

performed in the same Session, excepting, perhaps, the Extra Session of 1841.

The condition of the country in 1824 was far from prosperous. The amount of our exports had diminished to an alarming degree, while our imports of foreign goods had greatly increased. The country was thus drained of its Currency; and its Commerce was crippled. Nor was there any home-market for the staple productions of our soil. Both cotton-planters and wool growers shared in the general prostration; and even the Farmer had to sell his produce at a loss, or keep it on hand till it was ruined. Labor could with difficulty find employment; and its wages were hardly sufficient to supply the bare necessities of life. Money could only be procured at enormous sacrifices. Distress and Bankruptcy pervaded every class of the community.

In January, 1824, a Tariff Bill was reported by the Committee on Manufactures of the House: and in March following, Mr. Clay made his great and ever memorable Speech in the House, in support of American Industry. Many of our readers will vividly remember the deplorable state of the country at that time. It is impressively portrayed in his exordium on this occasion.

The CAUSE of the wide-spread distress, which existed, he maintained was to be found in the fact that, during almost the whole existence of this Government, we had shaped our industry, our navigation and our commerce in reference to an extraordinary market in Europe, and to foreign markets, which no longer existed; in the fact that we had depended too much upon foreign sources of supply, and excited too little the native.

On this occasion, Mr. Webster, whose views upon the subject afterwards underwent an entire change, opposed the bill with the whole powerful weight of his talents and legal profundity. Mr. Clay took up one by one the objections of the opposition, laboriously examined and confuted them. For specimens of pure and strongly-linked argument, the annals of Congress exhibit no speech superior to that of March, 1824. In amplitude and variety of facts, in force and earnestness of language, and cogency of appeal to the reason and patriotism of Congress and the people, it has been rarely equalled. It would have been surprising indeed, if, notwithstanding the strongly arrayed opposition, such a speech had failed in overcoming it. Experience has amply proved the validity and justice of its arguments. Its prophecies have been all fulfilled.

The Tariff Bill finally passed the House, the 16th of April, 1824, by a vote of 107 to 102. It soon afterwards became a law.

We will leave it to Mr. Clay himself to describe the results of his policy, eight years after it had been adopted as the policy of the country. After recalling the gloomy picture he had presented in 1824, he said: "I have now to perform the more pleasing task of exhibiting an imperfect sketch of the existing state—of the unparalleled prosperity of the country. On a general survey, we behold cultivation extending, the arts flourishing, the face of the country improved, our people fully and profitably employed, and the public countenance exhibiting tranquility, contentment and happiness. And, if we descend into particulars we have the agreeable con-

templation of a people out of debt; land rising slowly in value, but in a secure and salutary degree; a ready though not extravagant market for all the surplus productions of our industry; innumerable flocks and herds browsing and gamboling on ten thousand hills and plains, covered with rich and verdant grasses; our cities expanded, and whole villages springing up, as it were, by enchantment; our exports and imports increased and increasing, our tonnage, foreign and coastwise, swelling and fully occupied; the rivers of our interior animated by the thunder and lightning of countless steamboats; the currency sound and abundant; the public debt of two wars nearly redeemed; and, to crown all, the public Treasury overflowing, embarrassing Congress, not to find subjects of taxation, but to select the objects which shall be relieved from the impost. If the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present Constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the Tariff of 1824."

Such were the consequences of the benign legislation introduced and carried into operation by Henry Clay. And though the reverse of the picture was soon presented to us, through the violent Executive measures of General Jackson, inflating and then prostrating the Currency, and the course afterward pursued, we have the satisfaction of knowing that Mr. Clay has never wavered in his course; and that, had his warnings been regarded and his counsels taken, a far different state of things would, in all probability, have existed.

The unanimous voice of the Country has accorded to Mr. Clay the merit of having been the father of the system, which has been justly called the American System. To his personal history belong the testimonials of the various State Legislatures and Conventions, and of the innumerable public meetings, in all parts of the country, which awarded him the praise, and tendered him the grateful acknowledgements of the community. To his individual exertions, the manufacturing industry of the United States is indebted to a degree which it is now difficult to realize. By the magic power of his eloquence, the country was raised from a state of prostration and distress; cities were called into existence, and the wilderness was truly made to blossom like the rose.

Mr. Clay's zealous and laborious efforts in behalf of the Tariff can only be appreciated by a reference to the Journal of the House of that period. It seems as if he had been called upon to battle for every item of the bill, inch by inch. The whole power of a large and able opposition was arrayed against him; and every weapon that argument, rhetoric and ridicule could supply was employed. John Randolph was, as on former occasions, an active and bitter antagonist. Once or twice he provoked Mr. Clay into replying to his personal taunts. "Sir," said Mr. C., on one occasion, "the gentleman from Virginia was pleased to say that, in one point at least, he coincided with me—in an humble estimate of my grammatical and philological acquirements. I know my deficiencies. I was born to no proud patrimonial estate; from my father I inherited only infancy, ignorance, and indigence. I feel my

'defects; but, so far as my situation in early life is concerned, I may, without presumption, say they are more my misfortune than my fault. But, however I deplore my want of ability to furnish to the gentleman a better specimen of powers of verbal criticism, I will venture to say, my regret is not greater than the disappointment of this Committee as to the strength of his argument.'

The following is in a different vein. After the passage of the Tariff Bill, on the 16th of April, 1824, when the House had adjourned and the Speaker was stepping down from his seat, a gentleman who had voted with the majority, said to him, "we have done pretty well to-day."—"Yes," returned Mr. Clay, "we made a good stand, considering we lost both our *Feet*"—alluding to Mr. Foot of Connecticut, and Mr. Foote of New-York, who both voted against the bill, though it was thought, some time before, that they would give it their support.

CHAPTER VII.

The Missouri Question—Mr. Clay resigns the Speakership—The Union in Danger—He resumes his seat in Congress—Unparalleled Excitement—His compromise of the Question—Pacification of Parties—Character of his Efforts—Proposition of John Randolph and some of the Southern Members—Interview with Randolph—Anecdotes—Randolph and Shelley—Mr. Clay's Retirement from Congress—Derangement of his Private Affairs—Return to the House—Again chosen Speaker—Jeu D'esprit—Mr. Clay's Address—Independence of Greece—His Speech—Labors during the Session of 1824—Reception of Lafayette in the House—Welcomed by Mr. Clay—Lafayette's Reply—Lafayette's wish to see Mr. Clay President—Anecdote—Mr. Clay and Mr. Monroe.

DURING the Session of 1820-'21, the "distracting question," as it was termed, of admitting Missouri into the Union, which had been the subject of many angry and tedious debates, was discussed in both branches of Congress. The controverted point was, whether she should be admitted as a Slave State.

Slavery had been expressly excluded from Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, by acts of Congress, on their admission into the Union. But that restriction was, by virtue of an ordinance of the former Congress, under the Confederation, prohibiting the introduction of slavery into the Northwest Territory, out of which these States were formed. Missouri was part of the Louisiana Territory, purchased of France in 1803. And in various parts of that extensive Territory, slavery then existed, and had long been established.

Louisiana had been admitted into the Union without any restriction of the kind proposed for Missouri. The States of Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi and Alabama had also been admitted as separate States previous to this period; and, as they were taken from States in which Slavery existed, they had been made subject to no such restriction. It was contended that, on the same principle, Missouri should also be received, without requiring, as a condition of admission, the exclusion of Slavery. And it was also insisted that it would be interfering with the independent character of a State to enforce any such restriction, which was manifestly a subject of regulation by the State authority.

On the contrary, it was urged that in the old States the subject was expressly settled by the Constitution, and Congress could not justly interfere in those States; but that it was otherwise with new States received into the Union; in which case Congress had the right to impose such restrictions and

conditions as it might choose; that it was evidently the intention of the old Congress not to extend Slavery, having prohibited its introduction or existence in new States to be formed out of the Northwest Territory; and that Slavery was so great an evil, and so abhorrent to the principles of a free Government, that it should be abolished or prohibited wherever it could be Constitutionally effected.

The discussion went on from month to month, and from session to session, increasing in fierceness, and diverging farther and farther from the prospect of an amicable settlement. Among the prominent advocates for excluding Slavery from Missouri were Rufus King from New-York, Otis of Massachusetts, Dana of Connecticut, Sergeant and Hemphill of Pennsylvania. Of those opposed to Restriction, were Holmes of Massachusetts, Vandyke and McLane of Delaware, Pinckney of Maryland, Randolph and Barbour of Virginia, Lowndes of South Carolina, Clay and Johnson of Kentucky.

A bill for the admission of Missouri had been defeated during the Session of 1818-19; and the inflammatory subject had, during the vacation of Congress, given rise to incessant contention. The Press entered warmly into the controversy. The most violent pamphlets were published on both sides. Public meetings thundered forth their Resolutions; and the Union seemed to be fearfully shaken to its centre. It may be imagined, then, with what interest the next Session of Congress was looked to by the People.

Many eloquent Speeches were made in the House upon the question. Mr. Clay spoke, at one time, nearly four hours against the Restriction; but there remains no published sketch of his remarks. The vote in the House of Representatives was several times given for excluding Slavery; but the Senate disagreed, and would not yield to the House.

In 1820, the People of the Territory of Missouri proceeded to ordain and establish a Constitution of Government for the contemplated State. Among other provisions, it was ordained in the twenty-sixth section of the Third Article, that it should be the duty of the General Assembly, "*as soon as might be, to pass such laws as were necessary to prevent free Negroes and Mulattoes from coming to and settling in the State, under any pretext whatever.*" Under this Constitution a State Government was organized and went into operation.

This clause, for the exclusion of free Negroes and Mulattoes, fanned into fresh life the flame of excitement, which had been partially allayed. The whole country was now thrown into commotion upon the question of admitting Missouri.

In the autumn of 1820, Mr. Clay, who had experienced heavy pecuniary losses by endorsing for a friend, resolved to retire from Congress, and, in the practice of the law, devote himself to the reparation of his private affairs. Accordingly, at the meeting of Congress, the 13th of November, 1820, the Clerk having announced that a quorum was present, said that he had received a letter from the Hon. Henry Clay, which, with the leave of the House, he read as follows:

"LEXINGTON, (Ky.) October 28, 1820.

"SIR: I will thank you to communicate to the House of Representatives, that, owing to imperious circumstances, I shall not be able to attend upon it

until after the Christmas holidays: and to respectfully ask it to allow me to resign the office of its Speaker, which I have the honor to hold, and to consider this as the act of my resignation. I beg the House also to permit me to reiterate the expression of my sincere acknowledgments and unaffected gratitude for the distinguished consideration which it has uniformly manifested for me. I have the honor to be, &c.

H. CLAY.

"THOS. DOUGHERTY, Esq., Clerk H. of R."

In view of the agitating question before Congress, Mr. Clay consented, however, to retain his seat as a member of the House till his term of service expired, although no longer its presiding officer. Early in the session the Missouri question came up. Those who now opposed its admission contended, that free citizens and mulattoes were citizens of the States of their residence; that as such, they had a right, under the Constitution, to remove to Missouri, or any other State of the Union, and there enjoy all the privileges and immunities of other citizens of the United States emigrating to the same place; and, therefore, that the clause in the Constitution of Missouri, quoted above, was repugnant to that of the United States, and she ought not to be received into the Union.

On the other hand, it was maintained that the African race, whether bond or free, were not parties to our Political Institutions; that, therefore, free Negroes and Mulattoes were not citizens, within the meaning of the Constitution of the United States; and that even if the Constitution of Missouri were repugnant to that of the United States, the latter was paramount, and would overrule the conflicting provision of the former, without the interference of Congress.

Such was the perilous and portentous question which now threatened a disruption of the Union.—In some shape or other it was presented almost daily and hourly to Congress; and became, at length, a perfect incubus upon legislation. In this state of things, Mr. Clay arrived in Washington, and took his seat in the House on the sixteenth of January, 1821. On the second of February, he submitted a motion to refer a Resolution of the Senate on the Missouri Question to a Committee of Thirteen—a number suggested by that of the original States of the Union. The motion was agreed to, and the following gentlemen were appointed a Committee accordingly:

Messrs. Clay of Ky., Eustis of Mass., Smith of Md., Sergeant of Pa., Lowndes of S. C., Ford of N. Y., Campbell of Ohio, Archer of Va., Hackley of N. Y., S. Moore of Pa., Cobb of Ga., Tomlinson of Ct., Butler of N. H.

On the tenth of the same month, Mr. Clay made a report, concluding with an amendment to the Senate's resolution, by which amendment Missouri was admitted upon the following fundamental condition:

"It is provided that the said State shall never pass any law preventing any description of persons from coming to and settling in the said State, who now are or hereafter may become citizens of any of the States of this Union; and provided also, that the Legislature of the said State, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said State to the said fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of the said Act; upon the receipt whereof, the President, by proclamation, shall announce the fact; whereupon, and without any further proceedings on the part

of Congress, the admission of the said State into the Union shall be considered as complete: And provided, further, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to take from the State of Missouri, when admitted into the Union, the exercise of any right or power which can now be constitutionally exercised by any of the original States."

In defence of his report, Mr. Clay said that, although those favorable to the admission of Missouri could not succeed entirely in their particular views, yet he was of opinion that they had, as regarded the Report of the Committee, nothing to complain of.—At the same time, the Report was calculated to obviate the objections of those who had opposed the admission of Missouri on the ground of the objection to her Constitution which had been avowed. Thus consulting the opinions of both sides of the House, in that spirit of compromise which is occasionally necessary to the existence of all societies, he hoped it would receive the countenance of the House; and he earnestly invoked the spirit of harmony and kindred feeling to preside over the deliberations of the House on the subject.

The question being taken in Committee of the Whole on the amendment proposed by Mr. Clay, it was decided *in the negative* by a vote of 73 to 64.—This decision was afterward overruled in the House. On the question, however, of the third reading of the Resolution, it was rejected, by a vote of 83 to 80, in consequence of the defection of Mr. Randolph of Virginia, who dreaded the increase of popularity which would accrue to Mr. Clay by the success of his proposition. A reconsideration was moved and carried the next day, and the question of the third reading was again brought before the House. Another protracted and bitter debate followed, and was concluded by a speech of an hour's duration from Mr. Clay, who is represented by the cotemporary journals as having "reasoned, remonstrated and entreated that the House would settle the question."

On the fourteenth of February, the two Houses of Congress met in the hall of the House of Representatives, to perform the ceremony of counting the votes for President and Vice President of the United States. A scene of great confusion occurred when the votes of the Electors for Missouri were announced by the President of the Senate, and handed to the Tellers. The Members of the Senate withdrew, and a violent discussion sprang up. By the exertions of Mr. Clay, order was at length restored, and, on his motion, a Message was sent to the Senate that the House was ready to proceed to the completion of the business of counting the votes.

The Senate again came in. The votes of Missouri were read, and the result of all the votes having been read, it was announced by the President of the Senate, that the total number of votes for James Monroe as President of the United States, was 231, and, if the votes of Missouri were not counted was 228; that, in either event, James Monroe had a majority of the whole number of votes given. James Monroe was accordingly re-elected President for four years, commencing on the ensuing fourth of March.

While the proclamation was being made, two Members of the House claimed the floor to inquire whether the votes of Missouri were or were not counted. Another scene of confusion hereupon ensued, and the House were finally obliged to adjourn in order to put an end to it.

The rejection of Mr. Clay's report seemed to shut out all prospect of an amicable compromise. He was not disheartened, however. He never despaired of the Republic. On the twenty-second of February, he submitted the following resolution :

"Resolved, That a Committee be appointed, on the part of this House, jointly with such Committee as may be appointed on the part of the Senate, to consider and report to the Senate and to the House, respectively whether it be expedient or not to make provision for the admission of Missouri into the Union on the same footing as the original States, and for the due execution of the laws of the United States within Missouri; and if not, whether any other, and what provision, adapted to her actual condition, ought to be made by law."

This resolution was adopted in the House by a vote of 103 to 55. The Senate acceded to it by a large majority.

The Joint Committees of the two Houses met on the twenty-fifth of February, 1821; and a plan of accommodation, proposed by Mr. Clay, was adopted, unanimously on the part of the Committee of the Senate, and nearly so by that of the House. The next day he reported to the House from the Committee a resolution, which was the same in effect as that which we have already quoted as having been reported by the former Committee of thirteen Members. A short discussion ensued, which was checked by a call for the Previous Question. The resolution was then adopted by a vote of eighty-seven to eighty-one. The Senate concurred, and the momentous question, which for three Sessions had agitated Congress, was, at length through the labors and influence of Henry Clay, peaceably settled.

The achievement of this vital compromise must have been one of the most gratifying triumphs of his political career. By his personal influence and abilities, he had saved the Republic. He deservedly won on this occasion the appropriate title of "the Great Pacificator;" for to his individual exertions do we owe it, that we were saved from the prospect of a dissolution of the Union. His efforts in and out of Congress were unceasing in accomplishing his object. He made direct personal appeals to those whom he could not influence in public debate, and left no means untried for bringing Congress to that harmonious state, which was essential to the safety of the country.

While the Missouri question was pending, and the excitement of the contending parties was running to a great and alarming height, Mr. Randolph, and perhaps some other gentlemen of the South, conceived the project of the whole Delegation from the Slaveholding States, in a body, abandoning the House, and leaving its business to be carried on, if at all, by the Representatives from the other States. At that time, one of those conditions of non-intercourse, which we have described existed between him and Mr. Clay; but notwithstanding that, one night when the House was in session by candle-light, Mr. Clay being out of the Chair, Mr. Randolph approached him in the most courteous manner and said; "Mr. Speaker, I wish you would leave the Chair. I will follow you to Kentucky or any where else in the world."

Mr. Clay replied: "That is a very serious proposition, Mr. Randolph; we have not time now to discuss it; but if you will come into the Speaker's

room to-morrow morning, before the House assembles, we will consider it together."

He accordingly attended there with punctuality. They remained in earnest conversation about an hour, Mr. Clay contending that it was wisest to compromise the question, if it could be done without any sacrifice of principle, and Mr. Randolph insisting that the Slave States had the right on their side that matters must come to an extremity; and that there could be no more suitable occasion to bring them to that issue. They maintained their respective opinions firmly but amicably, without coming to any agreement.

When they were about separating, Mr. Clay observed to Mr. Randolph, that he would take that opportunity of saying to him, that he (Mr. Randolph) had used exceptionable language sometimes when the Speaker was in the Chair and had no opportunity of replying; and that he was often provoked thereat. "Well, Mr. Speaker," said Randolph, "I think you sometimes neglect me; you won't listen to me when I am addressing the chair, but turn your head away, and ask for a pinch of snuff."

Mr. Clay rejoined: "You are mistaken. I am listening when I may not seem to be; and I can repeat as much of any one of your late speeches as you yourself can, good as I know your memory to be."

"Well," replied Mr. Randolph, "perhaps I am mistaken; and suppose we shake hands and be good good friends hereafter."

"Agreed!" said Mr. Clay.

They shook hands accordingly; and never spoke with each other during the residue of the Session. It was about the period of Commodore Decatur's death. That event greatly excited Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Clay was informed by two different gentlemen (the late Governor Edwards and Gen. C. F. Mercer) about the same time, without concert, and shortly after the interview described above, that they knew that Mr. Randolph desired a duel, and with him (Mr. Clay.) He thanked them for the communication; which was made from friendly motives. It naturally put him upon his guard, and on first meeting Mr. R., thinking that he saw something unfriendly in his deportment, they passed each other without speaking.

Shortly before the interview above-mentioned, Mr. Randolph came to Mr. Clay with an insulting letter containing a threat to horsewhip him (Mr. R.) and asked what he should do with it—should he communicate it to the House as a breach of privilege? "How came the writer to address such a letter to you?" asked Mr. Clay. "Why, sir," said he, "I was in the vestibule of the House the other day, and he brought up a man and introduced him to me. I asked him, what right he had to introduce that man to me, and told him that the man had just as much right to introduce him to me. And he said he thought it was an act of great impertinence. It was for that cause he has written me this threatening letter." Mr. Clay asked him if he thought the man's mind was perfectly sound. "Why," replied Randolph, "I have some doubts about that." "If that be the case," said Mr. Clay, "would you not better avoid troubling the House about the affair? And I will give orders to the officers of the House to keep an eye on the man, and if he should attempt to do

anything improper to arrest him." Mr. Randolph said, it was perhaps the best course; and nothing more was heard of the matter.

On one occasion during the agitation of this same Missouri question, Mr. Randolph told Mr. Clay, that he had resolved, by the advice of Chief Justice Marshall, to abstain from the use of those powerful instruments of irony, sarcasm and invective, which he used with such cutting effect, and to confine himself to the employment of pure argument, whenever he spoke. He attempted it. He failed. His speech possessed no attraction—commanded no attention. He was mortified, and resumed his ancient style; and listening and admiring audiences returned to him.

When the House sat in what has been called the old Capitol (the brick building at the North-East corner of the Capitol-square,) Mr. Randolph one day came in collision with an able colleague from Virginia, Mr. Sheffey, in argument, in the course of which Mr. Sheffey had indulged in some playful remark. Mr. R. replied, and concluded by offering him some advice, which he said, he hoped would be kindly received: and that was, that logic being his (Mr. Sheffey's) forte, he ought to confine himself to it, and never attempt wit, for which he possessed no talent. Mr. Sheffey rejoined, answered the argument of Mr. Randolph, thanked him for his advice, but said he did not like to be in debt, and by way of acquitting himself of it, he begged leave to offer some advice in return. Nature, he said, had been bountiful to Mr. R. in bestowing on him extraordinary wit, but had denied him any powers of argument. Mr. S. would advise him, therefore, to confine himself to the regions of wit, and never attempt to soar in those of logic. Mr. R. immediately followed and handsomely remarked, that he took back what he had said of his colleague; for he had shown himself to be a man of wit as well as of logic.

It was a pleasant and enlivening incident, and the whole House and both parties appeared to enjoy the joke. But Mr. Randolph returned to the House the next day, and renewed the attack with great bitterness. The parties had various and long passes at each other. Mr. R. was repeatedly called to order by Mr. Clay, and finally stopped. It was on that occasion, that Mr. Sheffey being called to order, Mr. Clay said that he would be out of order in replying, as he was, to any other Member but Mr. Randolph.

During the interval of his retirement from Congress in 1822, Mr. Clay was delegated, in conjunction with Mr. Bibb, to attend the Virginia Legislature, for the adjustment of certain land claims in Kentucky. The House of Representatives of Virginia appointed a day to receive and hear them at the bar of the House. The subject to be discussed was what were called the "occupying claimant laws" of Kentucky; in other words, laws passed in behalf of the early settlers, the pioneers of the new State. The vicious system, which Virginia had adopted, of disposing of her waste and unappropriated lands, had led to the most frightful confusion and uncertainty of title. No man was sure of his home and lands, no matter how long he had occupied or how greatly he had improved them. Some dormant adverse title might spring up and evict him from his residence. Those "occupying claimant laws" were passed to secure to him the fruits of his toil and la-

bor, by compelling the successful claimant to pay the value of all permanent improvements. In principle these laws were right, although they were liable to great abuse, through a sympathy with the actual settler, which often led the assessor to place an extravagant estimate upon the improvements.

The validity of these laws was contested, and the Supreme Court of the United States had pronounced a decision against them. Whether they were valid or not depended upon the true interpretation of a compact between the States of Virginia and Kentucky, made at the time the latter was erected into a separate Commonwealth. The object of the mission of Messrs. Clay and Bibb was to prevail on the parent State to consent to the establishment of some impartial tribunal other than the Supreme Court, to be constituted by the joint consent of the two States, to decide the question of validity. It was to accomplish this object that the negotiators appeared before the Legislature.

Their mission had excited much sensation and curiosity. The city of Richmond was crowded by persons attracted to it by the novelty of the scene. Mr. Clay, who had left it some twenty-five years before, a poor orphan boy, and now found himself amid the remnant of his early associates, trembled lest he should not appear to advantage. The day for his presenting himself before the House at length arrived. The hall was crowded. The Judges of the Court of Appeals, among whom was the eminent Spencer Roane, who in 1797 had signed Mr. Clay's license—the members of the bar generally, and of the Senate, with many distinguished citizens, composed the audience. In the presence of this intellectual multitude, Mr. Clay rose to address the House of Delegates. He described the hardships and sufferings of the early adventurers and settlers in Kentucky: how they had encountered and subdued the savages, felled the forests, built for themselves habitations, and, amid the greatest privations, cultivated the earth, with the rifle as near at hand as the spade and the plough. He painted in glowing and pathetic terms the sacrifices they had made in abandoning the homes of their fathers, the tombs of their ancestors, the friends of their youth. Mr. Clay had himself recently been in the neighborhood of the place which gave him birth, and the visit and his early recollections probably imparted a deeper and more solemn intensity to his feelings and language. The whole assembly was gazing on him with fixed attention. You could have heard a pin drop in the pauses of his speech, such was the stillness. Nearly all his hearers were in tears. At this interesting juncture Mr. Clay attempted the quotation of a passage from the poems of Sir Walter Scott, now familiar to every schoolboy, but then new to most of his audience. The words had fled from his memory! He stood filled with emotion, and at the same time transfixed with deep though imperceptible embarrassment at the treacherous trick which his memory was serving him. He threw his right hand upon his forehead as if overwhelmed by his feelings, and remained in that posture so long, that he has been heard to say that he was actually meditating upon some mode of escape from his dilemma. Fortunately, however, the words came to his relief, and in his full-toned, melodious voice, he gave them forth:

"Lives there the man with soul so dead,
That never to himself has said,
'This is my own, my native land!'"

The effect upon the audience was electrical and transporting—far transcending what it would have been if his memory had not balked at all.

The mission of Messrs. Clay and Bibb led to the appointment of the Hon. B. W. Leigh on the part of Virginia; and Mr. Clay was subsequently appointed to conduct the negotiation with the latter on the part of Kentucky. They concluded at Ashland a convention, which, though it was ratified by the Legislature of Kentucky and the House of Delegates of Virginia, was finally rejected in the Senate of the latter State.

By an absence of nearly three years from Congress, Mr. Clay was enabled, through his professional labors, to retrieve his private affairs; and in the summer of 1823, at the earnest and repeated solicitations of his fellow-citizens, he accepted a renomination, and was again chosen, without opposition, to represent his District in the lower House at Washington.

The first Session of the Eighteenth Congress opened the first Monday in December, 1823. At the first ballot for Speaker in the House of Representatives, Mr. Clay was elected. Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, the late Speaker, had forty-two votes—Mr. Clay had one hundred and thirty-nine. The following neat *jeu d'esprit* appeared in the National Intelligencer shortly after the election:

"As near the Potomac's broad stream, t' other day

Fair LIBERTY strolled in solicitous mood,

Deep pondering the future—unheeding her way—

She met Goddess NATURE beside a green wood,

'Good mother,' she cried, 'deign to help me at need!

I must make for my guardians a Speaker to-day:

The first in the world I would give them.'—'Indeed!

When I made the first Speaker, I made him of CLAY!"

On taking the Speaker's chair, Mr. Clay made a brief and appropriate address, in which he returned his acknowledgments for the honor conferred. The duties of a Speaker are happily enumerated in his remarks on this occasion.

On the 5th of December, Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, submitted a resolution providing by law for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, whenever the President should deem it expedient to make such appointment. He supported this proposition in a most able speech on the 19th of the ensuing January. Mr. Clay stood side by side with him in defence of the measure. Notwithstanding the advocacy of these gigantic champions, however, it failed in the House.

Mr. Clay's speech on the subject, though brief, was full of fire and point. "Are we," he exclaimed, "so humbled, so low, so debased, that we dare not express our sympathy for suffering Greece, that we dare not articulate our detestation of the brutal excesses of which she has been the bleeding victim, lest we might offend some one or more of their imperial and royal majesties?"

Although Mr. Clay failed at the moment in procuring the recognition of Greece, he afterward, when Secretary of State, accomplished his object. The

United States was the first independent power by whom she was recognized.

Mr. Clay's labors during the Session of 1824 would alone have been sufficient to make his name memorable, to the latest posterity, in the annals of the country. The Session is signalized by the passage of the Tariff bill and of his measure in behalf of South American independence. In reference to the former, it should not be forgotten that it was through his vigilant and persevering efforts that the SUGAR DUTY was saved. A member from Louisiana, by his constant and bitter opposition to the protective policy, had greatly incensed its friends. They were provoked by his pertinacity, and, in Committee of the Whole, struck out the item of Sugar from the list of protected articles. Mr. Clay remonstrated with them. He urged that the State ought not to be injured, and that it would be cruel to punish it for the supposed misconduct of one of its Representatives. He entreated them, therefore, to restore the protective duty on Sugar, and finally prevailed on them, by personal appeals to individual members, to restore it accordingly in the House.

On the 15th of August, 1824, General La Fayette the nation's guest, arrived at New York in the Cadmus, accompanied by his son, George Washington La Fayette. The following 10th of December, he was introduced to the House of Representatives by a select committee, appointed for the purpose. Mr. Clay, as Speaker, received him with a pertinent and elegant address. La Fayette was deeply affected by this address, uttered, as it was, in the Speaker's clear, musical, and genial tones; and the hero of two hemispheres replied to it in a manner that betokened much emotion.

This distinguished friend of America and of liberty maintained to the end of his days an unwavering attachment for Mr. Clay; and when the miserable cry of "bargain and corruption" was raised against the latter, at the time of his acceptance of the office of Secretary of State, La Fayette gave his conclusive testimony in favor of the integrity, ingenuousness, and public virtue, of his friend, and in vindication of him from the charges which partizan hacks had originated.

"THAT IS THE MAN WHOM I HOPE TO SEE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES," said La Fayette in 1832, pointing to a portrait of Mr. Clay, in presence of an officer of the United States navy, who was entertained by the great and good Frenchman at his country-seat. The anecdote here given may be found in the "Commonwealth" newspaper published at Frankfort, Kentucky.

We have seen that Mr. Clay was at variance with President Monroe upon the subject of Internal Improvements, as well as in regard to the mode of recognizing the independence of the South-American patriots. Notwithstanding these differences of opinion, the personal relations of the Speaker and the Chief Magistrate were friendly. Mr. Clay was offered a seat in the cabinet, and a *carte blanche* of all the foreign missions. Had place been his ambition and his object, he might have attained it without any sacrifice of independence—without any loss of position as the acknowledged head of the great republican party. He saw, however, that he could be

more useful to his country in Congress. Measures of vital importance were to be carried. The Tariff was to be adjusted—the Missouri business to be settled—the constitutionality of Internal Improvements was to be admitted—South American independence was to be acknowledged—how could he conscientiously quit a post, where he wielded an influence more potent than the President's, while such momentous questions remained open? These being disposed of, he would be at liberty to pursue any course which his inclinations might indicate, or which the public interests might sanction.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Presidential Question—Nomination of Mr. Clay—His qualifications set forth—General Harrison in favor of Henry Clay—Slanders in the House—Kremer's Letter—Monstrous nature of the charges against Mr. C.—His course in regard to them—Appointment of a Committee of Examination—Complete Refutation of the Calumny—Mr. Clay's Address to his Constituents—Election of John Quincy Adams by the House—Exasperation of Gen. Jackson's Friends—Mr. Clay's independence of spirit—Motives of his preference—Gen. Lafayette substantiates his Assertions—Mr. Clay appointed Secretary of State—Views of this act—Slander temporary, Justice inevitable—His character as Speaker—Anecdotes, &c.

As Mr. Monroe's second Presidential term drew to a close, the question of the next Presidency began to be busily agitated. Four prominent candidates were presented by their friends for the suffrages of the People: being John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and William H. Crawford of Georgia.

In November, 1822, Mr. Clay had been nominated as a suitable successor to James Monroe, at a meeting of the Members of the Legislature of Kentucky. The nomination soon after met with a response from similar meetings in Louisiana, Missouri and Ohio; and, as the period of the election approached, he was hailed by large bodies of his fellow citizens in all parts of the country as their favorite candidate.

The campaign of 1824 was one of the most warmly contested in our annals. Some of the more unscrupulous of the friends of the various candidates resorted to manœuvres unworthy of their cause to advance their ends. Just as the election was commencing, a report was industriously circulated in different quarters of the country that Mr. Clay had withdrawn from the Presidential contest. In consequence of this report, General William H. Harrison, and other of Mr. Clay's friends in Ohio, published a declaration, in which it was asserted that he (Mr. Clay) "would not be withdrawn from the contest 'but by the fiat of his Maker.'" Our late lamented Chief Magistrate was at that time, and ever after, his devoted political, as well as personal friend; and he has often been heard to declare his preference for him over all other candidates.

Early in the campaign it was discovered that there would be no election of President by the People. By the Constitution, the House of Representatives would, therefore, be called upon to choose from the three highest candidates. In December, 1824, soon after the meeting of Congress, it was known that the three highest candidates were Jackson, Adams and Crawford, and that Mr. Clay and his friends would have it in their power, when the question came before the House, of turning the balance in favor of any one of the three.

Mr. Clay's position was now an extremely important one. Several weeks were to intervene before the election; and, in the mean time, the partisans of the three candidates looked with intense anxiety to the Speaker's course. His preferences were distinctly known to his personal friends, for he had expressed them in his letters and his conversations; but it would have been indelicate and superfluous for him to have electioneered in behalf of any one of the rival candidates—to have given occasion for intrigues and coalitions by deciding the question in advance.

While all parties were in this state of suspense, a gross and unprincipled attempt was made to browbeat Mr. Clay, and drive him from what was rightly supposed to be his position of preference for Mr. Adams. A letter, the authorship of which was afterward avowed by George Kremer, a member of the House from Pennsylvania, appeared in a Philadelphia newspaper called the 'Columbian Observer,' charging Mr. Clay and his friends with the most flagitious intentions—in short, with the design of selling their vote to the highest bidder.

Monstrous as were these intimations, they were calculated to carry some weight with the ignorant and unreflecting. By such persons, it would not be taken into consideration that Mr. Clay had already declined offices of the highest grade under Madison and Monroe—that, if either Jackson or Crawford had been elected through his agency, the first office in the gift of either would indubitably have been offered to him—that, in accepting office under Mr. Adams, it was universally understood at Washington he was conferring rather than receiving a favor—that he might not inaptly have been accused of acting an ungenerous part, if, after bringing the Adams Administration into power, he had refused it the countenance so essential to its success—that he would have neglected the solicitations of all who acted with him from the West had he refused the Secretaryship—and, in short, that in order to justify his vote it was incumbent on him to submit to the united voice of the friends of the new Administration, and bring to it as much of his Western strength as he could lend.

The 'Columbian Observer,' in which the precious epistle we have alluded to appeared, was a print sustained by Mr. Eaton, the friend, biographer, and colleague in the Senate of General Jackson. The position of the writer of the letter, as a member of Congress, gave it a consequence which, utterly contemptible as it is, it would not otherwise, in any degree, have possessed. Mr. Clay deemed it incumbent upon him to notice it; and he published a Card in the National Intelligencer, pronouncing the author of the letter, whoever he might be, "a base and infamous calumniator." This was answered by a Card from Mr. George Kremer, in which the writer said he held himself ready to prove, to the satisfaction of unprejudiced minds, enough to satisfy them of the accuracy of the statements in the letter, so far as Mr. Clay was concerned.

The calumny having been thus fathered, Mr. Clay rose in his place in the House, and demanded an investigation into the affair.

A Committee was accordingly appointed by ballot on the 5th of February, 1835. It was composed of some of the leading members of the House, not

one of whom was Mr. Clay's political friend. Although Mr. Kremer had declared to the House and to the public his willingness to bring forward his proofs, and his readiness to abide the issue of the inquiry, his fears, or other counsels than his own, prevailed upon him to resort finally to a miserable subterfuge. The Committee reported that Mr. Kremer declined appearing before them, alleging *that he could not do so without appearing either as an accuser or a witness, both of which he protested against!*"

And yet this same Mr. Kremer, a day or two before, when the subject of appointing an Investigating Committee came up, had risen in his seat in the House and said:—"If, upon an investigation being instituted, it should appear that he had not sufficient reasons to justify the statements he had made, he trusted he should receive the marked reprobation which had been suggested by the Speaker. Let it fall where it might, Mr. K. said, *he was willing to meet the inquiry, and abide the result.*"

But it is not on Mr. Kremer alone that our indignation should be expended for this miserable attempt to bolster up a profligate calumny just long enough for it to operate on the approaching Election. He was merely a tool in the hands of deeper knaves. A thick-headed, illiterate, foolish, good-natured man, he was ready, in his blind attachment to Gen. Jackson, to do any servile deed that might propitiate his idol. He seems to have inwardly repented of the act as soon as it had been committed. He frequently declared his determination to offer an explanation and apology to Mr. Clay; and had gone so far as to draw up a paper for this purpose, which was submitted to the latter. But Mr. Clay replied that the affair had passed from his control into that of the House;—and the rogues, who had taken Mr. Kremer into their keeping, were careful not to allow him to repeat his offer of an apology subsequently when the House chose to let the matter drop.

In 1827-8, Mr. Clay, in an Address to his constituents, gave a full and interesting history of this affair, together with the sequel, at which we shall glance in our next Chapter, and in which General Jackson figured conspicuously.

On the 9th of February, 1825, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, Mr. Tazewell, from the Committee of Tellers, reported the votes of the different States for President and Vice President of the United States. The aggregate was as follows: John Quincy Adams had eighty-four votes; William H. Crawford, forty-one; Andrew Jackson, ninety-nine; and Henry Clay, thirty-seven,—the

* The vote for Mr. Clay in the primary Colleges stood:—Ohio, 16; Kentucky, 14; New-York, 4; Missouri, 3. By some party chicanery or coalition intrigue, he was defrauded out of Electoral Votes in New-York and Louisiana which would have been more than sufficient to have rendered him one of the three candidates returned to the House. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to revive the recollection of those frauds upon the People, by which their favorite champion was excluded from a position, from which he would unquestionably have been elevated to the Presidency. It will be seen that Missouri gave her entire Vote to Mr. Clay in 1824, at which time THOMAS H. BENTON took the lead in his support, as the candidate most favorable to Internal Improvements and the Protection of American Industry. The Party calling themselves Bucktails, in New-York, were divided between Crawford and Clay, the former having the majority. The Opposition Party (Unitarians) were divided between Adams and Clay; although by far the larger portion preferred Adams. But on a division Clay had more strength than either of the others and, on a fair expression of opinion, would have commanded one-half the Electors.

The Crawford portion of the Bucktail Party was headed by Mr. Van Buren,—the portion which favored Mr. Clay was led

latter having been deprived, by party intrigue and chicanery, of the votes of New-York and Louisiana—which would have carried him into the House, where he would undoubtedly have been elected President, over all other candidates.

The President of the Senate rose, and declared that no person had received a majority of the votes given for President of the United States;—that Andrew Jackson, John Q. Adams and William H. Crawford were the three persons who had received the highest number of votes, and that the remaining duties in the choice of a President now devolved on the House of Representatives. He farther declared, that John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, having received one hundred and eighty-two votes, was duly elected Vice President of the United States, to serve for four years from the ensuing fourth day of March. The members of the Senate then retired.

The Constitution provides, that "from the persons having the highest numbers, not exceeding three, on the list voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, a President."

The friends of General Jackson now, as a matter of course, eagerly advanced the doctrine that a plurality of votes for any one candidate should be considered as decisive of the will of the People, and should influence the members of the House in their votes. As if a mere plurality, forsooth, ought to swallow up a majority! A more dangerous doctrine, and one more directly opposed to the spirit of the Constitution, could not well be imagined. It cannot be called Democratic, for it does not admit the prevalence of the will of the majority in the Election. It was, in fact, a dogma engendered for the occasion by the friends of the candidate, who happened to come into the House with a plurality of votes.

Mr. Clay was not to be dragooned into the admission of any such principle. He resolved to be guided by what was plainly the letter and spirit of the Constitution, and to give his vote to that man, whom he believed to be the most competent to preside over the destinies of the Republic. By a personal visit to Mr. Crawford he had satisfied himself that that gentleman was too broken down in health to discharge with fitting energy the duties of the Chief Magistracy. His option lay, therefore, between Messrs. Adams and Jackson.

We have seen what were Mr. Clay's views of the character of General Jackson as far back as 1819, when the Seminole question was before the House. Was it possible that he should regard those traits, which, in the soldier, had led to conduct, at war with the Constitution, as qualifications in the President? General Jackson was, furthermore, under-

by Mr. Young. To heal this division and give the united strength of that Party to Mr. Crawford, the nomination of Governor was tendered to Mr. Young. He accepted the nomination and from that time he and his friends abandoned Mr. C. and gave their support to Mr. Crawford.

But for this arrangement, it is certain that Mr. Clay would have received Electoral Votes enough, from the State of New-York, to have carried him into the House with General Jackson and Mr. Adams.

Mr. Clay had still many friends in the Senate and Assembly, who united in supporting a Ticket consisting of twenty-five Adams men and eleven Crawford men. Of those, however, it was understood that some preferred Mr. Clay, and would cast their votes for him, in the event that by so doing he could be brought into the House. But before the vote of the Electoral College was given, the news of the loss of Louisiana was received, which was thought to put an end to the contingency and the Electors friendly to Mr. Clay voted, some for Mr. Crawford, and some for Mr. Adams.

stood to be hostile to those great systems of Internal Improvement and protection to home manufactures, which Mr. Clay had spent the best part of his public life in establishing. At least, the General's views were vacillating and undecided on these points. Could Mr. Clay be called upon to sacrifice those important interests on the shrine of merely sectional partiality—for the sake of having a Western rather than an Eastern man to preside over the Union?

No! Henry Clay was not to be influenced by such narrow and unworthy considerations. He has himself said: "Had I voted for General Jackson in opposition to the well known opinions which I entertained of him, one-tenth part of the ingenuity and zeal which have been employed to excite prejudices against me, would have held me up to universal contempt; and, *what would have been worse, I should have felt that I really deserved it.*" According to the testimony of his friend, Gen. Call, Gen. Jackson himself never expected that he would receive the vote of Mr. Clay.

With Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay had always been on amicable if not on intimate terms. At Ghent, they had differed on a question of public policy, but they both had too much liberality of soul to make their dissimilarity of opinion a cause of personal displeasure and variance. The Speaker saw in Mr. Adams, a statesman highly gifted, profoundly learned, and long and greatly experienced in public affairs at home and abroad.

How could he in conscience hesitate when the choice lay between two such men? He did not hesitate. He had never hesitated. Long before he left Kentucky, according to the testimony of the Hon. John J. Crittenden, six of the Kentucky delegation in Congress, and some hundreds of respectable citizens, Mr. Clay declared that he could not imagine the contingency in which he would vote for General Jackson. A still more important witness, in the person of the great and good LAFAYETTE, came forward to testify in Mr. Clay's behalf, as the following extract from his letter to Mr. Clay will show:

"My remembrance concurs with your own on this point: that in the latter end of December either before or after my visit to Annapolis, you being out of the presidential candidature, and after having expressed my above-mentioned motives of forbearance, I, by way of confidential exception, allowed myself to put a simple, unqualified question, respecting your electioneering guess, and your intended vote. Your answer was, that in your opinion, *the actual state of health of Mr. Crawford had limited the contest to a choice between Mr. Adams and General Jackson; that a claim founded on military achievements did not meet your preference, AND THAT YOU HAD CONCLUDED TO VOTE FOR MR. ADAMS.*"

Notwithstanding the flagitious attempt to influence his vote, Mr. Clay unhesitatingly gave it for Mr. Adams, and decided the election in his favor. He went further. When, after he was seated in the Presidential Chair, Mr. Adams offered him the Secretaryship of State, he had the moral courage to accept it in defiance of the storm of calumny, exasperation and malignant opposition, which he knew that act would bring down upon him.

This was a critical period in Mr. Clay's public life—a bold, intrepid and magnanimous movement. We know that he now thinks it was a mistaken one. In his speech of the 9th of June, 1842, at Lexington, he says: "My error in accepting the office arose

'out of my underrating the power of detraction and the force of ignorance, and abiding with too sure a confidence in the conscious integrity and uprightness of my own motives. Of that ignorance, I had a remarkable and laughable example on an occasion which I will relate. I was travelling, in 1828, through, I believe it was, Spottsylvania in Virginia, on my return to Washington, in company with some young friends. We halted at night at a tavern, kept by an aged gentleman, who, I quickly perceived, from the disorder and confusion which reigned, had not the happiness to have a wife. After a hurried and bad supper, the old gentleman sat down by me, and without hearing my name, but understanding that I was from Kentucky, remarked that he had four sons in that State, and that he was very sorry they were divided in politics, two being for Adams and two for Jackson; he wished they were all for Jackson. Why? I asked him. Because, he said, that fellow Clay, and Adams, had cheated Jackson out of the Presidency. Have you ever seen any evidence, my old friend, said I, of that? No, he replied none, and he wanted to see none. But, I observed, looking him directly and steadily in the face, suppose Mr. Clay were to come here and assure you, upon his honor, that it was all a vile calumny, and not a word of truth in it, would you believe him? No, replied the old gentleman promptly and emphatically. I said to him, in conclusion, will you be good enough to show me to bed, and bade him good night. The next morning, having in the interval learnt my name, he came to me full of apologies, but I at once put him at his ease by assuring him that I did not feel in the slightest degree hurt or offended with him.'

With deference, we must express our dissent from Mr. Clay in regarding his acceptance of office under Mr. Adams as an "error." It may have been, *so far as his personal interests were concerned*, erroneous, and impolitic; but, in reference to his public duties, it was right; it was honest; it was courageous. Both Madison and Monroe had offered him the highest offices in their gift; but the country was at those times in such a state, that he thought he could make himself more useful in Congress; and he refused them. None but the ignorant and base-minded could credit the monstrous assertion, that he had made the promise of the Secretaryship the condition of giving his vote for Mr. Adams.

Mr. Clay may have been temporarily injured by the wretched slander; and it will be seen, as we advance in his biography, that after it had been dropped by Kremer, it was revived by General Jackson. But we do not believe that there is at this time a single person of moderate intelligence in the country, who attaches the least credit to the story, thoroughly exploded as it has been by the most abundant and triumphant testimony.

It is, therefore, because we have faith in the ultimate prevalence of truth, that we do not think Mr. Clay was in error, when he so far defied his traducers as to accept the very office which they had previously accused him of bargaining for. The clouds which for the moment hide Truth from our sight only make her shine the brighter when they are dissipated. In the words of Spenser:

"It often falls in course of common life,
That Right long time is overborne of Wrong.
Thro' avarice, or power, or guile, or strife;
But Justice, though her doom she do prolong,
Yet at the last she will her own cause right."

Mr. Clay may still abide, "with a sure confidence, in the conscious integrity and uprightness of his own motives." Slander has done her worst. Never before, in the history of our government, was a public man so bitterly assailed by every weapon and engine that unprincipled detraction and malignant party hostility could invent. For years, the opposition, in the face of the most decided and complete refutations of the calumny—and notwithstanding the original inventors had themselves confessed its falsity—continued to thrust it before the public, until, at length, they could find none so mean and ignorant to credit it. The natural reaction has taken place; and every honest heart now visits with indignation any attempt to resuscitate the crushed and obscene lie. Mr. Clay's reputation has come forth whiter and purer from the ordeal. The "most fine gold" is all the more bright because of those who would have dimmed its lustre. The stream of time is fast bearing down to oblivion the frail and unfounded falsehoods of his enemies; but the pillars of his renown, based as they are upon inestimable public services, remain unshaken and unimpaired.

Mr. Clay entered upon the duties of his new post in March, 1825. In him the House of Representatives lost the ablest and most efficient speaker that had ever graced the chair. The best proof of his popularity may be found in the eloquent fact, that from the time of his first entry into the House in 1811 to 1825, with the exception of two years when he was voluntarily absent, he was chosen to preside over their deliberations almost without opposition. The period of his Speakership will always be regarded as an epoch in the history of our Federal Legislature. Perhaps the most remarkable characteristic of his Presidency over the House, was his perfect—his unimpeachable impartiality. Both foes and friends bore testimony to this trait without a dissenting voice. Strong as were his party feelings, they never could induce him, even in the very tempest and whirlwind of debate, to treat an opponent with unfairness or undue neglect. His decisions were always prompt, yet never so hasty as to be reversed by the House. Notwithstanding the many momentous and agitating questions which were discussed while he occupied the chair, he was never known to lose his self-possession, or to fail in preserving the dignity of his position.

During the long period of his service (some twelve or thirteen years) in the chair, such was the confidence reposed in his impartiality and the rectitude of his judgment, that appeals were rarely taken from his decision—during the last years of his incumbency, scarcely one.

It was under Mr. Clay's administration of the duties of the chair, that the present use of the previous question in terminating debate was established. In England it is employed to put by or postpone a subject which it is deemed improper to debate; and then, when the House of Commons do not choose to hear an unacceptable debater, he is silenced by being shuffled or coughed down. Certainly it is more orderly, and less invidious, for the

House itself to determine when a subject shall be put to the question and all debate upon it stopped. And every deliberative body ought necessarily to possess the power of deciding when it will express its judgment or opinion upon any proposition before it, and, consequently, when debate shall close.

It has been seen, that Mr. Clay's presiding in the chair did not prevent his taking an active and leading part in all the great measures that came before the House in committee of the whole. His spirits were always buoyant, and his manner in debate generally animated, and sometimes vehement. But he never carried from the floor to the chair the excited feelings arising in debate. There he was still composed, dignified, authoritative, but perfectly impartial. His administration of its duties commanded the undivided praise of all parties.

Uniformly cheerful when on the floor, he sometimes indulged in repartee. The late General Alexander Smyth of Virginia, a man of ability and research, was an excessively tedious speaker, worrying the House and prolonging his speeches by numerous quotations. On one of these occasions, when he had been more than ordinarily tiresome, while hunting up an authority, he observed to Mr. Clay, who was sitting near him, "you, sir, speak for the present generation; but I speak for posterity."—"Yes," said Mr. Clay, "and you seem resolved to speak until the arrival of *your* audience!"

The late Governor Lincoln of Maine was a gentleman of fine feelings, eloquent, but declamatory. On one occasion, when addressing the House of Representatives, of which he was a member, on the Revolutionary Pension Bill, in answer to an argument that it would be a serious charge upon the Treasury of long continuance, as many of the officers and soldiers would live a great while, he burst out into the patriotic exclamation, "Soldiers of the Revolution, live for ever!" Mr. Clay followed him, inculcating moderation, and concluded by turning to Mr. Lincoln, with an arch smile, and observing, "I hope my worthy friend will not insist upon the very great duration of these pensions, which he has suggested. Will he not consent, by way of a compromise, to a term of 999 years instead of eternity?"

CHAPTER IX.

Account of Mr. Clay's Intercourse with General Jackson—Reverley Carter's Letter—General Jackson the Accuser of Mr. Clay—Mr. Buchanan's Final Refutation of the Slander—Mr. Adams's Testimony—Repeated more strongly in 1843—Opposition to Mr. Adams's Administration—Its Character—John Randolph's Assaults—His Duel with Mr. Clay—Last Interview with Mr. Clay in 1833—Impaired state of Mr. Clay's Health—Qualifications for the Secretaryship—The Panama Instructions—Objects proposed in the Panama Congress—Mr. Clay's Letter to Mr. Middleton—His Negotiations while Secretary of State—Treaties—Documents from his pen—Policy of Mr. Adams's Administration—Condition of the Opposition—Their Consistency—The Colonial Bill—Mr. Van Buren—Modes of Attack—Federalism and Democracy—Jacksonism and Federalism Identified—Presidential Election of 1828—Choice of Andrew Jackson—Economy under Adams, Jackson, and Van Buren—Mr. Clay's views toward the new Administration—He leaves Washington—Gross attempt to injure his private credit—His Letter to R. Wickliffe, Esq.

MR. CLAY has himself given to the public a history of his intercourse with General Jackson. It may be found in his speech of 1833 in the Senate on the Sub-Treasury Scheme.

"My acquaintance," he says, "with that extra-

ordinary man commenced in this city, in the Fall of 1815 or 1816. It was short, but highly respectful and mutually cordial. I beheld in him the gallant and successful General, who, by the glorious victory of New-Orleans, had honorably closed the second War of our Independence, and I paid him the homage due for that eminent service. A few years after, it became my painful duty to animadvert, in the House of Representatives, with the independence which belongs to the Representative character, upon some of his proceedings in the conduct of the Seminole War, which I thought illegal and contrary to the Constitution and the law of Nations. A non-intercourse between us ensued, which continued until the Fall of 1824, when, he being a member of the Senate, an accommodation between us was sought to be brought about by the principal part of the delegation from his own State. For that purpose, we were invited to dine with them at Claxton's boarding-house on Capitol Hill, where my venerable friend from Tennessee (Mr. White) and his colleague on the Spanish Commission, were both present. I retired early from dinner, and was followed to the door by General Jackson and the present Minister of the United States at the Court of Madrid (Mr. Eaton.) They pressed me earnestly to take a seat with them in their carriage. My faithful servant and friend, Charles, was standing at the door waiting for me with my own. I yielded to their urgent politeness, directed Charles to follow with my carriage, and they sat me down by my own door. We afterward frequently met, with mutual respect and cordiality: dined several times together, and reciprocated the hospitality of our respective quarters. This friendly intercourse continued until the election, in the House of Representatives, of a President of the United States, came on in February, 1825. I gave the vote which, in the contingency that happened, I told my colleague, (Mr. Crittenden,) who sits before me, prior to my departure from Kentucky, in November, 1824, and told others, that I should give. All intercourse ceased between General Jackson and myself. We have never since, except once accidentally, exchanged salutations, nor met, except on occasions when we were performing the last offices toward deceased members of Congress, or other officers of Government. Immediately after my vote, a rancorous war was commenced against me, and all the barking dogs let loose upon me. I shall not trace it during its ten years' bitter continuance. But I thank my God that I stand here, firm and erect, unbent, unbroken, unsubdued, unawed, and ready to denounce the mischievous measures of this Administration, and ready to denounce this, its legitimate off-spring, the most pernicious of all."

Directly after the adjournment of the 19th Congress, a letter, dated March 8, 1825, appeared in the newspapers, purporting to relate a conversation of the writer with General Jackson, in which the latter said that Mr. Clay's friends in Congress proposed to his friends (Gen. J.'s) that if they would promise for him, that Mr. Adams should not be continued as Secretary of State, Mr. Clay and his friends would at once elect General Jackson President; and that he (Gen. Jackson) indignantly rejected the proposition. Mr. Carter Beverly, the author of this letter, wrote to Gen. Jackson, soon after its appearance, for a confirmation of its statements.

General Jackson replied, in a letter dated June 5, 1827—*more than two years after the charge was first made*;—but just in season to operate upon approaching elections; and, in his reply, directly charged the friends of Mr. Clay with having proposed to him, (Jackson,) through a distinguished Member of Congress, to vote for him, in case he would declare that

Mr. Adams should not be continued as Secretary of State; and insinuated that this proposition was made by authority of Mr. Clay; and to strengthen that insinuation, asserted that immediately after the rejection of the proposition, Mr. Clay came out openly for Mr. Adams.

To this proposition, according to his own account, General Jackson returned for answer, that before he would reach the Presidential Chair by such means of bargain and corruption, "he would see the earth open, and swallow both Mr. Clay and his friends and himself with them!"—a reply, which was no doubt literally true inasmuch as "such means" could never have been used to elevate the Hero of New-Orleans to the Presidency.

General Jackson gave up the name of Mr. Buchanan of Pennsylvania as "the distinguished Member of Congress," to whom he had alluded in his letter to Mr. Beverly. Mr. Buchanan being thus involved in the controversy, although a personal and political friend of General Jackson, made a statement which entirely exculpated Mr. Clay and his friends from all participation in the alleged proposition. He stated, that in the month of December, a rumor was in circulation at Washington, that Gen. Jackson intended, if elected, to keep Mr. Adams in as Secretary of State. Believing that such a belief would cool his friends and inspire his opponents with confidence, and being a supporter of General Jackson himself, he thought that the General ought to contradict the report. He accordingly called on him, and made known his views; to which General Jackson replied, that though he thought well of Mr. Adams, he had never said or intimated, that he would or would not, appoint him Secretary of State. Mr. Buchanan then asked permission to repeat this answer to any person he thought proper, which was granted, and here the conversation ended. And out of such flimsy materials had General Jackson constructed his rancorous charge against Mr. Clay!

Mr. Buchanan further stated, that he called on General Jackson solely as *his* friend, and upon his own responsibility, and not as an agent for Mr. Clay, or any other person, that he had never been a friend of Mr. Clay during the Presidential contest; and that he had not the most distant idea that Gen. Jackson believed, or suspected that he came on behalf of Mr. Clay, or of his friends, until the publication of the letter, making that accusation.

Notwithstanding all grounds for the charge were thus annihilated by the testimony of the "distinguished Member of Congress"—himself a warm partizan of General Jackson—the asinine cry of bargain and corruption was still kept up by the opponents of the Administration; and the most audacious assertions were substituted for proofs.

At length, although not the slightest shadow of anything resembling evidence had been produced in support of the calumny, a body of testimony perfectly overwhelming was produced against it. A Circular Letter was addressed to the Western Members (for they alone were accused of being implicated in the alleged transaction) who voted for Mr. Adams in the election by Congress in 1825, requesting to know whether there was any foundation for the charge in the letter of General Jackson.

They all (with the exception of Mr. Cook, who was dead) utterly disclaimed the knowledge of any

proposition made by Mr. Clay, or his friends, to General Jackson, or to any other person; and also explicitly disclaimed any negotiation with respect to their votes on that occasion. On the contrary, the members from Ohio stated that they had determined upon voting for Mr. Adams *previous to their being informed of Mr. Clay's intention*, and without having ascertained his views.

The members from Kentucky, who voted with Mr. Clay, expressed their ignorance of conditions of any sort having been offered by his friends to any person, on compliance with which their vote was to depend.

The members from Louisiana and Missouri, coincided in these declarations, and they all professed their belief in the falsehood of the charges against Mr. Clay, on account of his conduct on that occasion.

In addition to this testimony, letters were produced from well known individuals, satisfactorily establishing the fact that Mr. Clay, previous to his leaving his residence in Kentucky for Washington, in the Fall of 1824, repeatedly made declarations of his preference for Mr. Adams over General Jackson, through the months of October, November, December and January following, until he executed that intention on the 9th of February, 1825, in the House of Representatives. We have already quoted from General Lafayette's letter to Mr. Clay a passage confirming this ample testimony.

Such a mass of evidence effectually crushed the accusation respecting a bargain, and convinced the public, that in voting for Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay and his friends conscientiously discharged their duty; and that they could not have voted otherwise without palpable inconsistency.

When, on the occasion of his speech of June, 1842, at Lexington, Mr. Clay alluded to this calumny, of which we have given a brief history, somebody cried out, that Mr. Carter Beverly, who had been made the organ of announcing it, had recently borne testimony to its being unfounded. Mr. Clay said it was true that he had voluntarily borne such testimony. But, with great earnestness and emphasis, Mr. Clay said, *I want no testimony; here—here—HERE—* (repeatedly touching his heart, amid tremendous cheers)—*here is the best of all witnesses of my innocence.*

Soon after the close of his administration, Mr. Adams, in reply to an address from a committee of gentlemen in New Jersey, spoke in the following terms of Mr. Clay:

"Upon him (Mr. Clay) the foulest slanders have been showered. Long known and appreciated, as successively a Member of both Houses of your National Legislature, as the unrivalled Speaker, and, at the same time, most efficient leader of debates in one of them; as as able and successful negotiator for your interests in war and peace, with foreign powers, and as a powerful candidate for the highest of your trusts—the Department of State itself was a station, *which, by its bestowal, could confer neither profit nor honor upon him*, but upon which he has shed unfading honor, by the manner in which he has discharged its duties. Prejudice and passion have charged him with obtaining that office by bargain and corruption. *Before you, my fellow-citizens, in the presence of our country and Heaven, I pronounce that charge totally unfounded.* This tribute of justice is due from me to him, and I seize, with pleasure, the opportunity afforded me by your letter, of discharging the obligation.

"As to my motives for tendering to him the Department of State when I did, let that man who questions them come forward. Let him look around among Statesmen and Legislators of this Nation and of that day. Let him then select and name the man whom, by his pre-eminent talents, by his splendid services, by his ardent patriotism, by his all-embracing public spirit, by his fervid eloquence in behalf of the rights and liberties of mankind, by his long experience in the affairs of the Union, foreign and domestic, a President of the United States, intent only upon the honor and welfare of his country, ought to have preferred to HENRY CLAY. Let him name the man, and then judge you, my fellow-citizens, of my motives."

During his visit to the West in the fall of 1843, Mr. Adams confirmed this denial in the strongest terms, which it is possible for the human tongue to employ.

"I thank you, sir," said he, in his speech at Maysville, (Ky.) "for the opportunity you have given me of speaking of the great Statesman who was associated with me in the administration of the General Government, at my earnest solicitation—who belongs not to Kentucky alone, but to the whole Union; and is not only an honor to this State and this Nation, but to mankind. The charges to which you refer, I have, after my term of service had expired, and it was proper for me to speak, denied before the whole country; and I here *reiterate and reaffirm that denial*; and as I expect shortly to appear before my God, to answer for the conduct of my whole life, *should those charges have found their way to the Throne of Eternal Justice, I WILL, IN THE PRESENCE OF OMNIPOTENCE, PRONOUNCE THEM FALSE.*"

In his address at Covington, (Ky.) Mr. Adams said, in allusion to the hospitalities, which he had met with: "Not only have I received invitations from public bodies and cities, but also from individuals, among the first of whom was that great man, your own citizen, who, during a very large portion of my public life, and in various public capacities, and in several instances in matters relating to your interests, has been my associate and friend, and the recollection of whom, brings me to the acknowledgment, before this whole assembly, that in all the various capacities in which I have known him to act, whether as associate, as assistant, or acting independently of me, in his own individual character and capacity, I have ever found him not only one of the ablest men with whom I have ever co-operated, but also of the most amiable and worthy."*

We have but imperfectly sketched the history of the flagitious measures which were adopted to blast

* Mr. Adams, of whom it could be said, "age cannot mar, nor custom stale his infinite variety," always retained his exalted estimate of Mr. Clay's patriotism and statesmanship, and was his ardent supporter for the Presidency in 1844. A Washington correspondent of that year wrote:

"I have frequently observed ladies' albums circulating through the House and Senate Chamber, with the view of collecting the autographs of the Members. One this morning, belonging to a young lady of —, attracted considerable attention. Upon examination, I found it contained a page of well written poetry, dated 23d July, 1842, in the tremulous hand-writing of John Q. Adams. This piece was descriptive of the wild chaos at present spread over our political affairs, and anticipated coming events which would bring order out of disorder. The closing verse was as follows:

Say, for whose brow this laurel crown?
For whom this web of life is spinning?
Turn this, thy Album, upside down,
And take the end for the beginning."

"The meaning of this was somewhat mystical, but by turning to the back of the book, and inverting it, on its last page a poem was found with the signature of H. CLAY."

the political reputation of Mr. Clay and break down the Administration, of which he was the main ornament and support. To the future historian we leave the task of commenting, in adequate terms of reprobation, upon the conduct of those unprincipled men who originated the slander, and continued to circulate it long after it had been proved to be utterly ungrounded. That it answered the purpose for which it was intended; that it was the most efficient instrument employed to trammel and defeat Mr. Adams's Administration there can now be little doubt. The recklessness and audacity with which it was persisted in *until it had served its end*,—the conduct of Mr. Kremer, as he vacillated between his good impulses and the party ties by which he was fettered,—and subsequent developments, still fresh in the remembrance of many of our readers, showed that the promulgation of the calumny was the result of a regularly planned conspiracy.

We refer those who would satisfy themselves of this fact, as well as of the sufficiency of the proofs by which this "measureless lie" was overwhelmed, to the proceedings in the House of Representatives, instituted at Mr. Clay's instance in February, 1825;—to the subsequent letter of Carter Beverley, detailing a conversation at General Jackson's;—to Mr. Clay's Letter to the Public, challenging his enemy to produce his testimony;—to Gen. Jackson's surrender of the name of Mr. Buchanan as the "distinguished Member of Congress" upon whose authority the charge of corruption was reiterated against Mr. Clay;—to Mr. Buchanan's complete and decided disclaimers of any intention on his part of ever giving countenance to the charge;—to Mr. Clay's pamphlets, published in 1827-8, embodying a mass of testimony disproving the charge;—to Mr. Buchanan's statements on the floor of the House of Representatives and the Senate, avowing his disbelief of the charge;—and finally to Carter Beverley's letter, published in 1841, repudiating the calumny as destitute of the slightest foundation in truth, and making such atonement as he could for having given currency to it in his letter of 1825.*

We might refer farther to Thomas H. Benton's declaration, who in a letter dated December 7, 1827, proves not only that Mr. Clay's bitterest opponents considered him innocent of the charge, but that before Congress had convened—before the Presidential election took place in that body—Mr. Clay had disclosed his intention to vote for Mr. Adams, not only to Mr. B., but to others.—See Nat. Int., Apr. 25, '44.

Rarely has an Administration been subjected to an opposition so unrelenting, so vindictive and so determined as that which assailed the Presidency of John Quincy Adams. The motives of that opposition appear to have been purely selfish and mercenary; for the policy of Mr. Adams resembled that of his predecessor, whose Secretary of State he had been, and it was little calculated to call down a virulent hostility. In his views of the powers of the General Government he was more liberal than Mr. Monroe. He was friendly to the American System of Internal Improvement and Protection, which had been so ably vindicated by Mr. Clay; and all his

measures were conceived in a truly generous, republican and patriotic spirit.

A great clamor was most unjustly raised about the expenses of his Administration. At this day the iniquity of this charge is so apparent as to render it unworthy a serious confutation. It becomes indeed laughable when placed side by side with the list of Presidential expenditures under Mr. Van Buren. In the distribution of his official patronage Mr. Adams appears to have been actuated by the purest and most honorable motives. Not a single removal from office on political grounds was made by his authority; and in no one instance does he seem to have been impelled by considerations of self-interest or with a view to ultimate personal advantage.

The circumstances under which he came into office, however, were a continual source of uneasiness to the friends of Jackson and Crawford; and his Administration, able and honorable to the country as it was, was constantly assailed. John Randolph, who had now a seat in the Senate, was especially bitter and personal in his denunciations. The eccentricities of that extraordinary man induced many persons to believe that he was partially deranged in his intellect. His long, desultory and immethodical harangues were a serious impediment to legislative business, while his elfish taunts and reckless assaults upon individuals were so frequent, that he seemed at length to have arrived at the conclusion that he enjoyed superior immunities in debate—that he was, in fact, "a chartered libertine." In one of the numerous discussions upon the Panama Mission, he took occasion to animadvert in the most offensive manner upon the conduct of Mr. Clay, and denounced the harmony existing between the Secretary of State and the President as a "coalition of Bliffl and Black George;" a combination of "the Puritan with the Black-leg."

When called upon by Mr. Clay to explain or retract these expressions, he refused. A hostile meeting consequently ensued between them on the 8th of April, 1826. After two ineffectual fires it resulted in the reconciliation of the parties—John Randolph having given additional evidence, by his conduct and appearance on the occasion, that his eccentricity, if it did not border on insanity, was separated from it by a very slight partition.

The last interview between Mr. Clay and Mr. Randolph was on the 2d or 3d of March, 1833, a few weeks before Mr. R.'s death, when he was on his way to Philadelphia, where he died. He came to the Senate Chamber, unable to stand or walk without assistance. The Senate was in session by candle-light, and Mr. Clay had risen to make some observations on the Compromise Act. "Help me up," said Mr. Randolph, sitting in a chair, and addressing his half-brother, Mr. B. Tucker; "*I have come here to hear that voice.*" As soon as Mr. Clay had concluded his remarks, he went to Mr. Randolph, and they cordially shook hands and exchanged salutations.

The health of Mr. Clay during the whole period of his residence at Washington, as Secretary of State, was exceedingly unfavorable—so much so, that at one time he had fully determined to resign the office. He was persuaded, however, to remain; and, notwithstanding the depressing influence upon mental and physical exertion of bodily infirmities

* All these documents may be found in Niles's Register. We regret that our limits will not permit us to expose, in its full deformity, the whole of this nefarious plot against Mr. Clay. That men must presume greatly upon the ignorance of the Public, however, who would at this day venture to revive the extinct lie.

ty, he discharged the complicate and laborious duties of the Secretaryship with a fidelity and efficiency that have never been surpassed. In the records of his labors, in his instructions to Ministers, and his numerous letters upon subjects of foreign and domestic concern, the archives of the State Department contain a lasting monument to his transcendent abilities as a statesman and his indefatigability as a public officer.

One of the ablest state papers in the diplomatic annals of the United States is the letter of instructions of Mr. Clay to the Delegation to Panama. The story of this Mission may be briefly told. A Congress was proposed to be held at Panama or Tacubaya, to be composed of Delegates from the Republics of Mexico, Colombia and Central America, to deliberate on subjects of importance to all, and in which the welfare and interest of all might be involved. The threatening aspect of the Holy Alliance towards the free Governments of the new world had induced the late President, Monroe, to declare that the United States would not view with indifference any interference on their part in the contest between Spain and her former Colonies; and the Governments of the new Republics were naturally led to suppose that our own was friendly to the objects proposed in the contemplated Congress. In the Spring of 1825, invitations were given on the part of Colombia, Mexico and Central America to the United States to send Commissioners to Panama.

In reply to this proposition, coming from the Ministers of those powers at Washington, Mr. Clay said, that before such a Congress met, it appeared to him expedient to adjust, as preliminary matters, the precise objects to which the attention of the Congress would be directed, and the substance and the form of the powers of the Ministers representing the several Republics. This suggestion called forth answers, which were not considered as sufficiently precise; but still to manifest the sensibility of the United States to what concerned the welfare of America, and to the friendly feelings of the Spanish American States, the President determined to accept their invitations, and to send Ministers with the consent of the Senate.

In March, 1829, a call having been made in the Senate for copies of the instructions given to our Ministers at Panama, Mr. Adams transmitted them, and they were soon afterwards published, notwithstanding a rancorous attempt on the part of the opposition to prevent their appearance; so creditable were they to the Administration that was going out of power, and to Mr. Clay, their author; and so completely did they refute the slanders, which had been propagated in connection with the Mission. Few state papers in the archives of the Government will compare, in point of ability, with this letter of instructions of Mr. Clay. It was, perhaps, the most elaborate paper prepared by him whilst in the Department of State. The liberal principles of commerce and navigation, which it proposed; the securities for neutral and maritime rights, which it sought; the whole system of international and American policy, which it aimed to establish; and the preparatory measures, which it recommended, *for uniting the two Oceans by a Canal*, constitute i

one of the boldest, most original, comprehensive and statesman-like documents on record.

Another masterly paper from the pen of Mr. Clay is his letter of May, 1825, to our Minister at St. Petersburg, Mr. Middleton, instructing him to engage the Russian Government to contribute its best exertions toward terminating the contest then existing between Spain and her Colonies. The appeal was not in vain. Through Mr. Clay's exertions, the policy of recognizing the Independence of Greece, and sending a Minister to that country, was also at length acquiesced in; and the effect of that recognition—the first she had experienced—in rousing the spirit of the struggling nation, is a matter of history.

The number of Treaties negotiated by Mr. Clay at the Seat of the General Government is greater than that of all which had ever been previously concluded there from the first adoption of the Constitution. His Diplomatic experience—his attractive manners—his facile and unceremonious mode of transacting business, rendered him a favorite with the Foreign Ministers at Washington, and enabled him to procure from them terms the most advantageous to the Country. During his incumbency as Secretary, he concluded and signed Treaties with Colombia, Central America, Denmark, Prussia and the Hanseatic Republic; and effected a negotiation with Russia for the settlement of the claims of American citizens. He also concluded a Treaty with Austria, but did not remain in office to see it signed.

His letters to Mr. Gallatin, our Minister at London, in relation to the trade between the United States and the British Colonies, are documents of extraordinary interest and value, which ably advocate a durable and obligatory arrangement by Treaty in preference to other modes of settlement. His letters to the same functionary, on the Navigation of the St. Lawrence, and to our Chargé at London, relative to the North-Eastern Boundary, exhibit much research, and a sagacious, enlightened and truly American spirit. Never was the Diplomacy of the Country so efficiently and creditably conducted as when under the charge of Henry Clay.

It has been justly said that no policy could be more thoroughly anti-European, and more completely American, than that of Mr. Adams's Administration. He would exclude all farther European colonization from the American Continent; all interference of European Monarchs, especially those of the mis-called Holy Alliance, in American politics; he would render his own country, essentially, independent of European work-shops, by fostering American Arts, Manufactures and Science, and would strengthen her power, by rendering her force more available through the instrumentality of Internal Improvements. To these objects his efforts were directed.

Mr. Clay had long been the acknowledged head of the Democratic Party; the most vigorous, eloquent and consistent champion of their principles, and we may add, that such he has ever continued. In giving his vote for Mr. Adams, he believed—and events justified his belief—that he would secure to the Country an Administration attached to the same leading policy that had characterized the Administrations of Madison and Monroe, with this additional

advantage: that it would be decidedly friendly to those great measures of Protection and Internal Improvement, of which he had been the early and persevering advocate. But the elements of opposition, which had remained inactive during the eight years of Mr. Monroe's Presidency, began to form and combine against his successor almost before he was 'warm in his chair.' The character of these elements was somewhat heterogeneous; and the partisan managers were long puzzled to find some principles of cohesion in their opposition. The policy of Mr. Adams upon all important questions coincided with that of the majority, and was sanctioned by the example of his great Democratic predecessors. At the commencement of his term of office, he had declared his intention to follow that example in the general outlines. He made it a rule to remove no man from office except for official misconduct, and to regard, in the selection of candidates for vacancies, only their moral and intellectual qualifications. He thus voluntarily relinquished the support which he might have derived from Executive patronage, and placed the success of his Administration simply upon the merit of its principles and its measures. What possible ground of opposition, therefore, could be discovered or invented? "*No matter: his Administration must be put down;*" for an army of aspirants and office-seekers were in the field. In the words of one of the most distinguished of General Jackson's supporters, the Administration must be put down, "*though as pure as the angels at the right hand of God.*"

Such being the tone of feeling among the Opposition, it is not a matter of surprise that the weapons employed against Mr. Adams and his friends were of a character directly the opposite of 'angelic.' In the first place, a gross and utterly unfounded charge of corruption was brought against the President and the Secretary of State. We have seen how utterly exploded, by the most positive and overwhelming testimony, that miserable slander has been. Charges of extravagance were then made against the Government; and a paltry bill for crockery and furniture for the White House was magnified into an accusation against the plain, frugal and unassuming Mr. Adams of an intention to ape the extravagance and splendor of European Potentates. The ordinary and established expenditures of the Government were examined with new and unexampled rigor, for the purpose of producing the belief that they originated with the Administration; and an assertion on his part of the President's Constitutional right to appoint, in the vacation of Congress, Diplomatic Agents to transact the Foreign business of the Country was construed into an usurpation of a new and unconstitutional power.

It having been discovered that the Secretary of State had, in some ten or dozen cases, transferred the employment of publishing the Laws from one Printing Establishment to another, a great clamor was raised about an attempt to corrupt the Press. The Secretary was charged with selecting the papers for political and personal objects; and a Resolution was offered, in the House of Representatives, requiring him to communicate the changes which had been made, and his reasons therefor. But, on its being discovered that the House had no jurisdiction of the case, the inquiry

was dropped. By way of showing the consistency of the Opposition, at the very time the detachment in the House were arraigning Mr. Clay for changing the publication of the Laws from one newspaper to another, their brethren in the Senate, under the guidance of Mr. Van Buren, were engaged in the attempt to deprive the National Intelligencer of the Printing of that body!

Shortly before the termination of the Second Session of the Nineteenth Congress, Mr. Floyd of Virginia announced to the public that the 'combinations' for effecting the elevation of General Jackson were nearly complete. During the Session, symptoms of the coalition began to appear; and on several questions an organized opposition was made manifest. Of these, we need only enumerate the Bankrupt Act, the bills for the gradual improvement of the Navy, authorizing Dry Docks and a Naval School, the appropriations for Surveys and Internal Improvement, the Controversy between Georgia and the General Government respecting the Creek Treaty, the bills to augment the Duty on imported Woollens, and closing the Ports of the United States against British vessels from the Colonies, after a limited period.

With regard to the Colonial Bill, the conduct of the succeeding Administration upon the subject of the West India Trade may make a brief outline of facts not inappropriate in this place. At the first session of the Nineteenth Congress, a bill was introduced into the Senate to accept, as far as practicable, the terms proposed by the British Acts of 1825, regulating the intercourse of Foreign Powers with her West India Islands. Owing to the long and interminable debates for political effect in that body at that session, the bill was not passed, and in the vacation the British Government interdicted the trade. The next session, measures of retaliation were proposed, but no definite steps were taken until the close of the session; and by a disagreement between the two Houses, the bill was lost, and the Executive was compelled to close our ports abruptly without any conditions. The manner in which Mr. Van Buren afterwards, when Secretary of State, availed himself of this fact, to disparage the administration of Mr. Adams before the British Ministry and Nation, is well known; and the mendicant appeals which, in his instructions to our Minister at the Court of St. James, he directed to be made to the English negotiators, remain a stigma on the diplomacy of the United States. The West India Trade was a fair and proper subject of convention between the two countries, to be settled on the basis of mutual rights and reciprocal interests. The honor of our country forbade any other course. If England would not deign to treat on this subject, it was not for us to coax her haughty Ministers into concession by legislative enactments. Such was the elevated and patriotic view of the subject taken by Mr. Clay. Directly opposite were the view afterwards taken, and the course adopted, by Mr. Van Buren.

As Mr. Adams's administration drew to a close, it began to be apparent that it was not destined to a second term. The strongest appeals were made to the sectional feelings of the Western States in behalf of the candidate of the Opposition; and these appeals were but too successful. In the various sections of the Union, opposite reasons were urged

with effect against the Administration. New-York and Pennsylvania were operated upon by an assertion, industriously circulated, that General Jackson was the candidate of the Democracy of the country, and this impression contributed to create a strong party in the States of Maine and New-Hampshire. Nothing could be more untrue than the assertion. Many of the leaders of the old Federal party were the most ardent personal opponents of Mr. Adams, and became the most effective enemies of his Administration. These men might afterwards be heard claiming to be the orthodox Democratic party, and denouncing Henry Clay—the early opponent of the Alien and Sedition Laws—the friend and supporter of Jefferson's administration—the main pillar of Madison's—and the most active originator and advocate of the Last War—as a *Federalist*!

The truth is that it has fared with the principles of Federalism as with its men. In the time of Mr. Monroe there was a general blending of parties. A new and distinct formation, on grounds at first purely personal, was made during the administration of Gen. Jackson. As soon as there was a division on principles, the worst part of the old Federalists—some of the most bitter and envenomed—the black cockade gentry, who had passed their younger years in writing pasquinades on Mr. Jefferson's breeches, and had been in the habit of thanking Heaven that they had “no Democratic blood in their veins”—went over to Gen. Jackson, and carried with them a spirit of ultraism, ay, and of ultra-Federalism, which was developed in the Protest, and Proclamation, and many of the leading measures of his Administration. The more moderate, prudent and patriotic joined with the Democratic party, and formed the great *Whig* party of the country. The *ultras* of the old parties coalesced, and the combination was naturally *Tory*.*

Upon the assembling of the Twentieth Congress, it was ascertained, by the election of the Speaker, that a majority of the House was opposed to the Administration; and this victory was soon followed by such an accession from those who were *uncommitted* in the Senate as to give a majority to the same party in that body. Thenceforward the Administration was not allowed, of course, a fair trial; and every question was discussed with a view to political effect.

* In one of the skirmishes between Mr. Clay and Mr. Calhoun, during the Sub-Treasury discussion, Mr. Clay took up, among other topics, this question of Federalism. Mr. Calhoun had alluded to the friends of his opponent as members of the Federal party. “Sir,” said Mr. Clay, “I am ready to go into an examination with the honorable Senator at any time, and then we shall see if there are not more members of that same old Federal party amongst those whom the Senator has so recently joined than on our side of the house. The plain truth is, that it is the old Federal party with whom he is now acting. For all the former grounds of difference which distinguished that party, and were the subjects of contention between them and the Republicans, have ceased, from lapse of time and change of circumstances, with the exception of one, and that is the maintenance and increase of Executive power. This was a leading policy of the Federal party. A strong, powerful and energetic Executive was its favorite tenet.” * * * “I can tell the gentleman that he will find the true old Democratic party, who were for resisting the encroachments of power, and limiting Executive patronage, on this side of the Senate, and not with his new allies, the Jackson-Van Buren Democratic party, whose leading principle is to sustain the Executive, and deny all power to the Legislature: and which does not hold a solitary principle in common with the Republican party of 1788.”

At length, in the autumn of 1823, the Presidential Election took place, and resulted in the choice of Andrew Jackson, by one hundred and twenty-eight votes in the primary Electoral Colleges, given by sixteen States, including Virginia and Georgia, which, in the previous Election, had cast their votes for Mr. Crawford. Mr. Adams was supported by the six New-England States; by New-Jersey, which had previously voted against him; by Delaware, and sixteen votes from New-York, and six from Maryland. Mr. Calhoun obtained the same vote for Vice President that Gen. Jackson did for President, except seven votes in Georgia, which were thrown away upon William Smith of South Carolina. Mr. Rush received the whole vote of the Administration party for Vice President.

Thus ended the administration of John Quincy Adams, during which our domestic and foreign affairs were never more ably and prosperously conducted. The foreign policy of the Government had only in view the maintenance of the dignity of the National character, the extension of our Commercial Relations, and the successful prosecution of the claims of American citizens upon Foreign Governments.

The Domestic policy was no less liberal, active and decided; and never was there a more groundless political libel than that which impeached the integrity and economy of that Administration. As the charge of extravagance was the argument most vehemently urged against Mr. Adams's Administration, it may be well in this place to glance at its plausibility. The aggregate expenditures of the several Administrations from 1789 to 1838, exclusive of the Public Debt, and payments under Treaty stipulations, including the expenses and arrearages of the last War with Great Britain, were:

Washington's Administration, 8 yrs.	\$15,890,698 55
John Adams's “ 4 “	21,348,356 19
Jefferson's “ 8 “	41,100,788 88
Madison's “ 8 “	144,684,944 86
Monroe's “ 8 “	99,363,509 64
J. Q. Adams's “ 4 “	49,725,721 26
Jackson's “ 8 “	144,579,847 72
Total	\$516,693,867 10

From this statement it appears that the reforming, retrenching, economical, *Democratic* Administration of General Jackson, that expressed such a holy horror at Mr. Adams's extravagance, cost the country as much as the Administration of Mr. Madison, including the outlays of an expensive War with Great Britain. Mr. Van Buren retrenched in the same ratio with his predecessor. The first year of his Administration cost the People \$33,554,341—about three times the average annual expenditure of Mr. Adams! During the remainder of his term the public expenses were in a like proportion. What measure of condemnation should be bestowed upon the political hypocrites whose promised reforms and retrenchments resulted in such gross profligacy and neglect of the public interests!

In March, 1829, General Jackson entered upon the discharge of his official duties as President. On the 14th of the same month, Mr. Clay left Washington for his residence in Kentucky. Before quitting that city, some of the principal residents, as a parting tribute of respect, gave him a Public Dinner. In his speech on the occasion, he briefly reviewed the events, in which he had been an actor, during

the preceding four years. He alluded to the serious charge against him, which had been brought by General Jackson, who, after summoning his friend and *only* witness (Mr. Buchanan) to establish it, and hearing that witness promptly and unequivocally deny all knowledge whatever of any transaction that could throw the slightest shade upon the character of the accused, maintained a stubborn and persevering silence upon the subject, instead of magnanimously acknowledging his error and atoning for the gross injustice of which he had been guilty. "But," said Mr. Clay, "my relations to that citizen, by a recent event, are now changed. He is 'the Chief Magistrate of my Country, invested with large and extensive powers, the administration of which may conduce to its prosperity, or occasion its adversity. Patriotism enjoins, as a duty, that while he is in that exalted station, he should be treated with decorum, and his official acts be judged of in a spirit of candor.'"

Such was the patriotic spirit with which Mr. Clay regarded the elevation of General Jackson, and in which he was prepared to judge of the acts of the new Administration.

The political enemies of Mr. Clay were not, however, content with misrepresenting his public course. They lifted, with a rude and ruffianly hand, the veil from his private affairs, and attempted to destroy his private credit by charging him with bankruptcy. The consequence was the publication of a letter from Mr. Clay to Robert Wickliffe, Esq. dated May 24, 1823, in which the falsehoods of his assailants were fully confuted. He admitted that he had incurred a heavy responsibility, about ten years before, as endorser for his friends, to which cause his temporary retirement from public life and the renewal of his professional labors were to be attributed. The mortgages upon his Estate did not amount to ten thousand dollars, and before the expiration of the year he hoped there would not remain one-fifth of that sum.

"I have hitherto," says Mr. Clay, in this letter, "met all my engagements by the simplest of processes, that of living within my income, punctually paying interest when I could not pay principal, and carefully preserving my credit. I am not free, absolutely, from debt. I am not rich. I never coveted riches. But my estate would, even now, be estimated at not much less than one hundred thousand dollars. Whatever it may be worth, it is a gratification for me to know that it is the produce of my own honest labor—no part of it being hereditary, except one slave, who would oblige me very much if he would accept his freedom. It is sufficient, after paying all my debts, to leave my family above want, if I should be separated from them. It is a matter also of consolation to me to know, that this wanton exposure of my private affairs can do me no pecuniary prejudice. My few creditors will not allow their confidence in me to be shaken by it. It has indeed led to one incident, which was at the same time a source of pleasure and of pain. A friend lately called on me at the instance of other friends, and informed me, that they were apprehensive that my private affairs were embarrassed, and that I allowed their embarrassment to prey upon my mind. He came, therefore, with their authority to tell me, that they would contribute any sum that I might want to relieve me. The emotions which such a proposition excited can be conceived only by honorable men. I felt most happy to be able to undeceive them, and to decline their benevolent proposition."

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Clay's Return to Kentucky—Triumphant Reception—Public Dinners—Speeches—Mr. Clay and the Colonization Society—His sentiments on Slavery—Abolition Petitions—Visit to New-Orleans—Natchez—Complimentary Reception by the Louisiana House of Representatives—Visit to Ohio—Dines with the Mechanics at Columbus—His Election to the U. S. Senate in 1831—Nomination to the Presidency—The Tariff—Defence of the American System—Mr. Clay's estimate of the Irish character—Reduction of Duties—Letter of T. H. Benton.

THERE are few men, who can bear defeat more gracefully, or with more unaffected good humor, than Mr. Clay. Relieved from his official toils as Secretary of State, his health rapidly improved, and his fine spirits expanded unchecked. On his journey from the seat of Government, previous to his arrival at Uniontown in Pennsylvania, the roads being extremely bad, he sent his private vehicles ahead and took the stage-coach. Finding it disagreeable within, however, he removed to an outside seat next the driver, and, in that situation, entered Uniontown. The good people of the place expressed a great deal of surprise at seeing the ex-Secretary in that *lofty*, and yet *humble* position. "Gentlemen," replied Mr. Clay, "although I am with the *outs*, yet I can assure you that the *ins* behind me have much the worst of it."

On his way to Kentucky, Mr. Clay received continual testimonials of the attachment and esteem of the people. He was invited to innumerable public dinners, but was able to appear only at a few. At Frederick in Maryland, he made an admirable speech at one of these complimentary festivals on the eighteenth of March, 1829. On the thirty-first of the same month he dined with the mechanics at Wheeling, whom he addressed principally in relation to the American System—Manufactures and Internal Improvements. He reached his home at Ashland, with his family, the sixth of April, having been met at some distance from Lexington by a large number of friends, by whom he was most affectionately received.

On the 16th of May, a great public dinner was given to him at Fowler's Garden by his fellow-townsmen. Three thousand sat down at the table; and Mr. Clay spoke for the space of one hour and thirty-five minutes; the following appropriate toast having been previously given: "Our distinguished 'guest, friend and neighbor, HENRY CLAY—with increased proofs of his worth, we delight to renew 'the assurance of our confidence in his patriotism, 'talents and incorruptibility—may health and happiness attend him in retirement, and a grateful nation do justice to his virtues.'"

Mr. Clay's speech on this occasion is one of the choicest specimens of his eloquence, being pervaded by some of the finest characteristics of his style, although there is, of course, an absence of those impassioned appeals, which would have been out of place. The exordium is full of pathos and beauty. He had been separated for four years from his friends and neighbors. After devoting the best energies of his prime to the service of his country, he had been grossly traduced and injured, and his most conspicuous traducer had been elevated to the Presidency. He had returned home once more; and now saw before him, gathered together to do him honor, to renew their assurances of attachment and confidence, sires with whom, for more than thirty years, he had interchanged friendly offices—their sons, grown up

during his absence in the public councils, accompanying them—and all prompted by ardent attachment, surrounding and saluting him as if he belonged to their own household.

After alluding in the happiest manner to some of these circumstances, Mr. Clay reviewed briefly the course of the past Administration—referred to the clamor which had been raised against Mr. Adams *for proscription*—when the fact was, that not a solitary officer of the Government, from Maine to Louisiana, was dismissed on account of his political opinions, during the whole of Mr. Adams's Administration—contrasted this course with that which President Jackson commenced so soon after his installation—and eloquently pointed out the evil consequences of the introduction of a tenure of public office, which depended upon personal attachment to the Chief Magistrate.

In concluding his remarks, Mr. Clay touchingly expressed his gratitude to his fellow-citizens of Kentucky, who had “constantly poured upon him a bold and unabated stream of innumerable favors.” The closing sentences of the speech are in the genuine language of the heart which cannot be counterfeited, and which none can so eloquently employ as Henry Clay. “When,” said he, “I felt as if I should sink beneath the storm of abuse and detraction, which was violently raging around me, I have found myself upheld and sustained by your encouraging voice and your approving smiles. I have doubtless committed many faults and indiscretions, over which you have thrown the broad mantle of your charity. But I can say, and in the presence of my God and of this assembled multitude I will say, that I have honestly and faithfully served my country; that I have never wronged it; and that, however unprepared I lament that I am to appear in the Divine Presence on other accounts, I invoke the stern Justice of his judgment on my public conduct, without the smallest apprehension of his displeasure.”

During the Summer and Autumn of 1829 Mr. Clay visited several parts of the State of his adoption, and everywhere he was hailed as a friend and public benefactor. On the 17th of December he addressed the Kentucky Colonization Society at Frankfort in a speech, in which he eloquently vindicated the policy and character of that benevolent institution. He had been an early and constant advocate of the system of Colonization. In his speech before the American Colonization Society, delivered the 20th of January, 1827, in the Hall of the House of Representatives at Washington, we find the following impressive passage:

“It is now a little upwards of ten years since a religious, amiable and benevolent resident of this city (Mr. Caldwell) first conceived the idea of planting a Colony, from the United States, of free people of color, on the Western shores of Africa. He is no more, and the noblest eulogy which could be pronounced on him would be to inscribe upon his tomb, the merited epitaph—‘Here lies the projector of the American Colonization Society.’ Amongst others, to whom he communicated the project, was the person who now has the honor of addressing you. My first impressions, like those of all who have not fully investigated the subject, were against it. They yielded to his earnest persuasions and my own re-

flections, and I finally agreed with him that the experiment was worthy of a fair trial.”

After presenting in a clear and forcible light the project of the Society for the gradual extinction of Slavery, Mr. Clay remarked in regard to it: “All, or any one, of the States which tolerate Slavery may adopt and execute it, by co-operation or separate exertion. If I could be instrumental in eradicating this deepest stain upon the character of our country, and removing all cause of reproach on account of it by foreign nations—*If I could only be instrumental in ridding of this foul blot that revered State that gave me birth, or that not less beloved state which kindly adopted me as her son, I would not exchange the proud satisfaction which I should enjoy for the honor of all the triumphs ever decreed to the most successful conqueror.*”

To the system of colonization, we believe, Mr. Clay yet looks as a means for diminishing the proportion of the black population to the white in the Slave States until emancipation would be compatible with the security and interests of the latter.

In January, 1830, Mr. Clay made a visit to one of his married daughters at New-Orleans. Although appearing there as a private citizen, he found it impossible to escape those attentions, which the public gratitude suggested. He was daily visited by crowds of persons, including Members of the Legislature and Judges of the different Courts. The shipmasters, who were in port, waited in a body upon him as the champion of *Free Trade and Sailors' Rights*. Declining an invitation to a public dinner, he left New-Orleans for Natchez, on his way home, the 9th of March. As the boat, in which he had embarked, quitted the pier, the scene was of the most animated description. The Levee and the tops of the steamboats, a great number of which were in port, exhibited a crowded and almost unbroken mass of spectators, collected to see him and do him honor. The shouting multitude, the elevation of flags, and the roar of cannons, which burst from the crowd of surrounding vessels, as the boat moved off, presented altogether one of the most imposing spectacles that could be imagined. It was a grand civic ovation, as honorable to the subject of it as any triumph which ever greeted a military conqueror.

At Natchez, persons from all parts of Mississippi were waiting to meet him. The press of the crowd into the steamboat containing the illustrious visitor was so great as to excite alarm; and the mass collected on the wharf was so dense that much time and exertion were required to make way through it. Soon after his arrival he accepted a pressing invitation to a public dinner. A vast concourse assembled on the occasion. His speech is described as unusually felicitous. He was several times obliged to stop speaking for some minutes—while the enthusiasm of his hearers exhausted itself in repeated rounds of applause. In the course of his remarks, having occasion to allude to the battle of New-Orleans, he paid a generous tribute to Gen. Jackson. Henry Clay never was the man to detract from the merits of even his most unrelenting opponents.

On the twenty-seventh of March, Mr. Clay reached Lexington, having declined numerous invitations to public dinners on his route. He had stopped on his way unpremeditatedly at Donaldsonville, (the

new Seat of Government of Louisiana,) to see the public buildings, and pay his respects to some of his old friends and acquaintances. Unexpectedly entering the hall of the House of Representatives, he was immediately recognized, and the whole body, including the Speaker and Members of all parties, simultaneously rose to receive him.

In the summer of 1830, having business in the Circuit and District Courts of Ohio, he visited Columbus, where he was cordially welcomed by the Mechanics, at whose Celebration the following appropriate Toast was given :

"Our inestimable guest, HENRY CLAY. An efficient laborer in support of the Industry of the Country. Farmers and Mechanics know how to appreciate his services."

His entry into Cincinnati was quite imposing.—All classes assembled to welcome his approach. He here dined with the Mechanics, and his Speech upon the occasion is an eloquent vindication of the American System, and a just rebuke of the odious doctrine of Nullification, which was then beginning to be preached in South Carolina and Georgia.

In the autumn of 1831, Mr. Clay was elected to the Senate of the United States by the Legislature of Kentucky, by the following vote :—In the Senate, Henry Clay, 18; Richard M. Johnson, 19; Warden Pope, 1. In the House of Delegates, Clay, 55; Johnson, 45.—At the first session of the Twenty-Second Congress, he presented his credentials, and took his seat once more in a body where, twenty-five years before, he had made his influence felt and his talents respected.

Contemporaneous with his re-appearance in the Senate, was the meeting of the National Republican Convention, which assembled at Baltimore on the twelfth of December, 1831, and unanimously nominated HENRY CLAY to the office of President of the United States, and JOHN SERGEANT to that of Vice President.

The subject of the Tariff began to be vehemently agitated in Congress early in the session of 1831-32. The discontent of the South was assuming an alarming aspect; and the system of Protection, which Mr. Clay had labored so long and incessantly to establish, was threatened with material qualifications, if not a complete overthrow. In that conciliatory spirit, which he had manifested on many critical occasions, he now approached this exciting topic. On the ninth of January, 1832, he introduced a Resolution providing that the existing Duties upon articles imported from foreign countries, and not coming into competition with similar articles made or produced within the United States, ought to be forthwith abolished, except the Duties upon Wines and Silks, and that they ought to be reduced; and that the Committee on Finance be instructed to report a bill accordingly. This Resolution he sustained in an admirable Speech of about two hours' duration, in which he spoke warmly in favor of the maintenance of the Protective Policy and that of Internal Improvement.

Mr. Hayne followed in reply; and on the second of February, the subject being still under discussion before the Senate, Mr. Clay commenced his ever-memorable Speech in defence of the American System against the British Colonial System. It was continued on the next day, and finally completed on

the sixth of the same month. Such a chain of irrefragable argument as it presents, interlinked with facts the most cogent and appropriate, has rarely been forged by human ingenuity. It will be referred to by future statesmen as their political textbook, when the Protective Policy is called in question.

After an impressive exordium, he alluded to the distress of the country after the War. The period of greatest distress was seven years previous to the year 1824: the period of greatest prosperity these seven years following that act. He then gave a picture of the flourishing condition of the country. He maintained that all the predictions of the enemies of the Tariff in 1824 had been falsified by experience—that all the benefits which he had anticipated had been realized. He alluded to all the interests now protected—all Mechanic Arts—Navigation—Agriculture—and Manufactures. He argued that the Tariff began in 1792, which established the great principle of Protection. It was the second act of the First Congress—sanctioned by the Father of his Country, and most of the eminent Statesmen of that day. Mr. Clay then traced the history of the subject down to 1816; commented on the Tariff of that year, its object, extent and policy; then the Tariff of 1824, the amendment of the system in 1828—the *Bill of which year was framed on principles directly adverse to the declared wishes of the friends of the policy of Protection*, although the error then perpetrated was corrected by subsequent legislation.

After a graphic description of the beneficial effects of the policy, which they were now called upon to subvert, Mr. Clay asked what was the substitute proposed by those whose design was the immediate or gradual destruction of the American System? The reply is as appropriate to the enemies of the System now as it was ten years ago. "*Free Trade!*—*Free Trade!* The call for Free Trade is as unavailing as the cry of a spoiled child, in his nurse's arms, for the moon or the stars that glitter in the firmament of heaven. It never has existed. It never will exist. Trade implies at least two parties. To be free, it should be fair, equal and reciprocal. But if we throw our ports wide open to the admission of foreign productions, free of all duty, what ports, of any other foreign nations, shall we find open to the free admission of our surplus produce? We may break down all barriers to Free Trade, on our part, but they will not be complete until Foreign Powers shall have removed theirs. There would be freedom on one side, and restrictions, prohibitions and exclusions on the other. The bolts and the bars and the chains of all other nations will remain undisturbed." * * * "Gentlemen deceive themselves. It is not Free Trade that they are recommending to our acceptance. It is, in effect, the British Colonial System that we are invited to adopt; and, if their policy prevail, it will lead, substantially, to the re-colonization of these States, under the commercial dominion of Great Britain."

* "Fair Trade and Sailors' Rights," was the Toast given by the late Mr. Gilmer, the day of the fatal accident on board the Princeton. The substitution of a single word illuminates the whole subject. A "Fair Trade" is what Mr. Clay has always aimed to secure for his country.

In the course of his Speech, Mr. Clay had occasion to introduce the following remarks upon the Irish character. They show his high appreciation of the worth of an important class of our adopted fellow citizens :

"Of all foreigners, none amalgamate themselves so quickly with our people as the natives of the Emerald Isle. In some of the visions which have passed through my imagination, I have supposed that Ireland was, originally, part and parcel of this Continent, and that, by some extraordinary convulsion of nature, it was torn from America, and, drifting across the ocean, was placed in the unfortunate vicinity of Great Britain. The same open-heartedness; the same generous hospitality; the same careless and uncalculating indifference about human life, characterize the inhabitants of both countries. Kentucky has been sometimes called the Ireland of America. And I have no doubt that, if the current of emigration were reversed, and set from America upon the shores of Europe, instead of bearing from Europe to America, every American emigrant to Ireland would there find, as every Irish emigrant here finds, a hearty welcome and a happy home!"

On the 13th of March Mr. Dickerson, from the Committee on Manufactures, reported, in conformity with Mr. Clay's resolution, a bill for repealing the duties upon certain specified articles of import. The bill was opposed at the threshold because it did not embrace the whole subject of the Tariff; because it made no reduction of duties upon *protected* articles. An animated debate ensued, and the bill was laid upon the table. After undergoing numerous modifications in both Houses, it was finally passed by Congress in July, 1832. By this new law, the principles for which Mr. Clay and the rest of the friends of Domestic Industry had contended, were preserved. The Revenue was greatly reduced, but the Protective System remained unimpaired. Of Mr. Clay's efforts in the establishment of that System no one has more impressively spoken than Thomas Hart Benton, Senator in Congress from Missouri, who, in a Circular signed by him and first published in the 'Missouri Intelligencer,' October 22, 1824, gives utterance to these just and eloquent sentiments :

"The principles which would govern Mr. Clay's Administration, if elected, are well known to the Nation. They have been displayed upon the floor of Congress for the last seventeen years. They constitute a System of AMERICAN POLICY, based on the Agriculture and Manufactures of his own country—upon Interior as well as Foreign Commerce—upon Internal as well as Sea-Board Improvement—upon the independence of the New World, and close Commercial alliances with Mexico and South America. If it is said that others would pursue the same system; we answer, that the founder of a System is the natural executor of his own work; that the most efficient protector of American Iron, Lead, Hemp, Wool and Cotton would be the triumphant champion of the New Tariff; the safest friend to Interior Commerce would be the Statesman who has proclaimed the Mississippi to be the Sea of the West; the most zealous promoter of Internal Improvements would be the President, who has triumphed over the President who opposed the construction of National Roads and Canals; the most successful applicant for Treaties with Mexico and South America would be the eloquent advocate of their own Independence.

"THOMAS HART BENTON."

CHAPTER XI.

Reception of the Amended Tariff at the South—Progress of Nullification—Re-election of General Jackson—Proclamation—The Protective System in danger—The Enforcement Bill—Perilous state of Affairs—Henry Clay comes forward with his Plan for a Compromise—Origin of that Measure—Particulars in regard to it—Mr. Clayton of Delaware—Anecdote—Leading Motives of Mr. Clay—Statement of Hon. H. A. S. Dearborn—Passage of the Compromise Bill—Public Gratitude—Characteristics of Mr. Clay's Public Career—His Visit to New-England—Triumphal Reception—Honors paid to him on his route.

THE amended Tariff was received with little favor by the South. Nullification grew daily bolder in its denunciations and menaces; and the Union seemed to be greatly in danger. On the 24th of November, 1832, the South Carolina Convention passed their ordinance, declaring the Revenue Laws of the United States null and void; and soon afterward the Legislature of the State met, ratified the proceedings of the Convention, and passed laws for the organization of the Militia and the purchase of munition and ordnance.

In the midst of these troubles, the Presidential Contest took place, and resulted in the re-election of General Jackson over the opposing candidates, Henry Clay, John Floyd of Virginia, and William Wirt.

On the 10th of December, 1832, soon after the meeting of Congress, President Jackson issued his Proclamation, announcing his determination to enforce the Revenue Laws, and exhorting the citizens of South Carolina to pause in their disorganizing career. This remonstrance produced little effect. It was followed, on the 20th of the same month, by a counter Proclamation from Governor Hayne, warning the citizens of South Carolina against the attempt of the President to seduce them from their allegiance, and exhorting them, in disregard of his threats, to be prepared to sustain the State against the arbitrary measures of the Federal Executive.

The Protective System was at this moment in imminent hazard of being destroyed. General Jackson's Administration was always inimical to that policy, originated and principally supported as it had been by a hated rival. The Tariff became the great question of the session. It was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, where it was remodeled; and on the 27th of December, a bill was reported, which was understood to embody the views of the Administration. It proposed a diminution of the duties on all the protected articles, to take effect immediately, and a further diminution on the 2nd of March, 1834. The subject was discussed from the 8th to the 16th of January, 1833, when a message was received from the President, communicating the South Carolina ordinance and nullifying laws, together with his own views as to what should be done under the existing state of affairs. On the twenty-first of the same month, the Judiciary Committee of the Senate reported a bill to enforce the collection of the revenue, where any obstructions were offered to the officers employed in that duty.

The aspect of affairs was now alarming in the extreme. The administration party in the House had shown itself utterly incapable of devising a tariff likely to be accepted by a majority of that body. The session was rapidly drawing to a close. South Carolina had deferred the period of its collision with the General Government in the hope that some mea-

sure of adjustment would be adopted by Congress. This hope seemed to be daily growing fainter. Should the enforcing bill not be carried into effect against the Nullifiers, the Tariff was still menaced by the Federal administration, avowedly hostile to the protective system.

At this juncture, Henry Clay, deeply impressed with the importance of the crisis, stepped forward to reconcile conflicting interests, and to avert the direful consequences which would result from the farther delay of an adjustment. On the eleventh of February he introduced his celebrated COMPROMISE BILL, providing for a gradual reduction of duties until 1842, when 20 per cent. at a *home* valuation should be the rate, "until otherwise regulated by 'law.'"

Mr. Clay introduced this bill with some pertinent and impressive remarks, in which he deplored the distracted and portentous condition of the country, and appealed strongly to the patriotism and good sense of Congress to apply a remedy. The bill underwent a long and vehement discussion. None could deny the purity and loftiness of the motives which had led to its presentation; but it was vehemently opposed by many. Mr. Smith, of Maryland, opposed it, because "it contained nothing but protection from beginning to end." Mr. Forsyth exulted over the admission, which had been made by Mr. Clay, that "the Tariff was in danger." "It is," said Mr. F., "at its last gasp—no hellebore can cure 'it.'" The Southern members opposed the bill mainly because it provided for a home valuation.

Towards the close of the debate, a personal difficulty arose between Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi, and Mr. Webster. The former, in the course of his reply to a very powerful attack from Mr. Webster upon the Compromise Bill of Mr. Clay, made reference to the course of Mr. W., during the war of 1812. Mr. Webster declined all explanation, and Mr. Poindexter immediately declared that he "felt 'the most perfect contempt for the Senator from 'Massachusetts.'" Mr. Clay interferred, with his usual generosity, and in a few remarks, complimentary alike to both Senators, effected a mutually satisfactory explanation.

Mr. Clay had conceived the idea of the Compromise in Philadelphia in December, 1832, when he was passing a few weeks with his brother-in-law, the late James Brown, Esq. who had fixed his residence in that city, after his mission to France. The reflection of Gen. Jackson to the Presidency had been made known the month before, and Mr. Clay had commenced his journey from Ashland to Washington not in the best spirits but resolved to do his duty. Jackson's power was then at its zenith. He had vetoed the charter of the Bank of the United States. He was triumphantly reflected. His power seemed resistless. Nevertheless, Mr. Clay was resolved to fight on, and to fight to the last.

He believed the President insincere in his professions of attachment to the Protective policy; that, under the delusive name of a judicious Tariff, he concealed the most deadly and determined hostility to the Protection of American Industry. Mr. Clay saw the partisans of "free trade" supporting Gen. Jackson, with the greatest zeal; and *knew* that some of them counted upon subverting the whole system through the power and influence of that arbitrary

chief magistrate. He saw many of the members of Congress from States known to be friendly to the preservation of that policy, yet willing to go secretly, if not openly, as far as they dared go in asserting the overthrow of that policy.

In the mean time Nullification had assumed a threatening aspect. The supporters of that heresy had gone so far that, if no change in the Tariff took place, they must fight or be forever disgraced. Mr. Clay thought that if a Civil War were once begun it might extend itself to all the Southern States, which, although they did not approve of Nullification, would probably not be willing to stand by and see South Carolina crushed for extreme zeal in a cause, which was common to them all.

Such were the circumstances, under which, during the leisure Mr. Clay enjoyed with his friend, Mr. Brown, in Philadelphia, he directed his mind to the consideration of some healing scheme for the existing public troubles.

The terms of the Compromise Act substantially as it passed, were the result of Mr. Clay's reflections at that time. He communicated them to his friend, the lamented Senator Johnston, from Louisiana, who concurred with him heartily. A Committee of Manufacturers, consisting of Messrs. Bovie, Dupont, Richards and others, waited on Mr. Clay in Philadelphia, to consult with him on the impending dangers to the Protective policy. To them he broached his scheme, and they approved it. He mentioned it to Mr. Webster in Philadelphia, but that distinguished Senator did not agree with him. On reaching Washington, Mr. Clay communicated it to many practical Manufacturers, to Ezekiah Niles, Mr. Simmons of the Senate, from Rhode Island, and others. They agreed with him; and every practical Manufacturer of that day with whom he conversed (except Mr. Ellicott, of Maryland,) assented to the project. Most of their friends in Congress, especially in the Senate, followed their example. The chief opposition, it was thought, was to be traced to Mr. Webster and gentlemen who had a great deference for the opinion of the Massachusetts Senator.

Mr. Clay's own convictions being thus strengthened by the opinions of practical men, he resolved to proceed. He had no interviews with Southern Members on the subject of the contemplated proposal, until he had prepared and was about to submit the bill; at which time, he had one or two interviews with Mr. Calhoun, at Mr. Clay's lodgings. But through his friend, Governor Letcher of Kentucky, who was intimate with Mr. McDuffie and other Southern gentlemen, Mr. Clay ascertained their views. He found one highly favorable state of feeling—that they were so indignant with General Jackson for his Proclamation, and his determination to put down the Nullifiers by force if necessary, *that they greatly preferred the difficulty should be settled rather by Mr. Clay than by the Administration.*

Mr. J. M. Clayton of Delaware entered with great zeal into the views of Mr. Clay, and seconded his exertions with untiring, able, constant and strenuous endeavors. Often he would say to him, looking at Mr. Calhoun and other members from South Carolina, "Well, Clay, these are clever fellows, and it won't do to let old Jackson hang them. We must

save them if possible." Mr. Clayton belonged to a mess of seven or eight Senators, every one of whom was interested in the preservation of the protective policy. Without their votes, it was impossible that the Compromise should pass. They, through Mr. Clayton, insisted upon the home valuation, as a *sine qua non*, from which they would never depart. Mr. Clay told them that he would not give it up; and the Compromise Bill never could have passed without that feature of it.

The Southern Senators had declared that they would be content with whatever would satisfy the South Carolina Senators. Mr. Calhoun had manifested strong objections to the home valuation. Mr. Clay told him that he must concur in it, or the measure would be defeated. Mr. Calhoun appeared very reluctant to do so; and Mr. Clay went to the Senate on the day when the Bill was to be decided, uncertain as to what its fate would be. When the bill was taken up, Mr. Calhoun rose in his place and agreed to the home valuation, evidently, however, with reluctance.

Two great leading motives operated with Mr. Clay in bringing forward and supporting his measure of Compromise. The first was, that he believed the whole protective policy to be in the most imminent peril from the influence of Gen. Jackson and the dominion of his party. He believed that it could not possibly survive that session of Congress or the next, which would open with a vast increase of that influence and power. He had seen the gradual but insidious efforts to undermine the policy, sometimes openly avowed, frequently craftily concealed. He had seen that a bill was actually introduced by Mr. Verplanck, and then pending in the House of Representatives, which would have utterly subverted the whole policy. He knew, or believed, that there was a majority in the House, willing, although afraid to pass the bill. Witnessing the progress of that party, he did not doubt, that at the next session at least, they would acquire strength and courage sufficient to pass the bill. He could not contemplate the ruin, distress and destruction, which would ensue from its passage, without feelings of horror. He believed that the Compromise would avert these disasters, and secure adequate protection until the 30th June, 1842. And he hoped, that in the mean time the public mind would become enlightened, and reconciled to a policy, which he had ever believed essential to the national prosperity. *But for the partial experiments, which were made upon the currency of the country, leading to the utmost disorder in the exchanges, and the business of society, it is yet the belief of Mr. Clay and his friends, that the measure of Protection secured by the Compromise Act up to the 31st December, 1841, would have enabled our Manufacturers to have flourished and prospered.*

Another leading motive with Mr. Clay, in proposing the Compromise, was *to restore harmony, and preserve the Union from danger; to arrest a civil war, which, beginning with South Carolina, he feared might spread throughout all the Southern States.*

It may be added, that a third and powerful motive, which he felt intensely, although he did not always avow it, was *an invincible repugnance to placing under the command of General Jackson*

such a vast military power as might be necessary to enforce the laws and put down any resistance to them in South Carolina, and which might extend he knew not where. He could not think, without the most serious apprehensions, of entrusting a man of his vehement passions with such an immense power. He could not think without feelings of indescribable dread, of the effusion of blood, the danger to the Union, and the danger to the liberties of all of us, which might arise from the application of such a force in the hands of a man already too powerful, and flushed with recent victory.

It may be farther added, that Mr. Clay thought he perceived, *with some a desire to push matters to extremity.* He thought he beheld a disposition to see South Carolina and the South punished. Indeed the sentiment was more than once expressed to him: "Let them put down the Tariff—let them bring ruin, 'embarrassment and distress on the country—the country will rise with renewed vigor. We shall 'have the policy, which we wish to prevail, firmly 'and inviolably fixed.'" He thought even that he perceived a willingness that the effect produced by the memorable Hartford Convention at the North, should be neutralized by the effect, which might arise out of putting down by force the nullification of South-Carolina. He could not sympathize in these feelings and sentiments. He was for peace, for harmony, for union, and for the preservation too of the Protective System. He no more believed then than now, that Government was instituted to make great and perilous experiments upon the happiness of a free people—still less experiments of blood and civil war.

After the introduction of the bill of Compromise and its reference to the Committee, predictions of the failure of the measure were confidently put forth. Even in the committee-room it was asserted, that there was no chance for its passage; and Members rose from their places with the intention of leaving the room, without agreeing upon any report. Mr. Clay said to them, with decision and firmness: "Gentlemen, this bill has been referred to us, and it is our duty to report it, in some form or other, to the Senate—and it *shall* be reported." Some slight amendments were agreed upon, and the bill was reported. Its subsequent fate is known.

In bringing about the adoption of the measure, Messrs. Clayton and Letcher are entitled to the most liberal praise, as the efficient coadjutors of its author.

The private history of the Compromise Act remains yet to be written.* Should it ever be given to the world, it will throw new lustre upon the patriotic and self-sacrificing character of Mr. Clay. It will exhibit in a still stronger light his disinterestedness—his devotion to country—his elevation above all selfish impulses and personal ends—his magnanimity, and his generous intrepidity of spirit.

The Compromise Bill passed the House February 26th, 1833, by a vote of 120 to 34. It passed the Senate the ensuing first of March by a vote of 29 to 16—Mr. Webster voting against it. Mr. Clay was now once more hailed as the preserver of the Republic—as the great Pacificator. The dark, portentous cloud, big with civil discord and disunion, which had been hanging over the country, rolled away and was scattered. The South and the North were reconciled; and confidence and prosperity were restored. Is not

such a civic triumph worth all the pæans ever shouted in the ears of a military conqueror? It placed Mr. Clay in a commanding and elevated position—and drew upon him the eyes of the whole Nation as a liberal, sound and true-hearted statesman, in whose hands the interests of all sections would be safe.

The act was characteristic of his whole public career. The only horizon which bounds his political vision is the horizon of his country. There is nothing small, narrow, sectional in his views, interests or hopes. North, South, East and West—they are all equally dear to him. Kentucky—noble Kentucky—where he is cherished and honored as such a Statesman and Patriot ought to be cherished and honored by such a gallant and generous constituency—he regards with the attachment and devotion, with which no generous nature can fail to be inspired for the soil where his first honors were won, the early theatre of his fame and its fruition—the home of his hopes and his heart. But he looks abroad from the State of his adoption, and down from the pinnacle of his elevation—and there lie Massachusetts, and New-York, and the Old Dominion, proud of the blended honors of their Lexington, Saratoga and Yorktown, radiant with the common glories of their Adamses, Hamiltons and Washingtons—and he feels that in these glories and honors—in those traditions and records of achievements—in the fame of those illustrious men, he has himself an equal inheritance with any of their children. The influence of this noble, national spirit pervades the whole of Mr. Clay's public career, and is stamped upon all those great measures by which, in moments of exigency and darkness, he has revived the desponding hopes and retrieved the sinking fortunes of the Union.*

In the autumn of 1833, Mr. Clay, accompanied by his lady, fulfilled a design which he had long contemplated, of visiting the Eastern cities. His journey was one continued ovation. Arriving at Baltimore early in October, he was waited upon by thousands of citizens, who came to pay their tribute of gratitude and respect. At Philadelphia he was received at the Chesnut-street wharf by an immense concourse of people with enthusiastic huzzas, and conducted to the U. S. Hotel by his friend John Sergeant. Arriving at New-York he was escorted to his lodgings by a large procession of gentlemen on horseback; and all parties seemed to unite in their testimonials of welcome. A special meeting of the Board of Aldermen was held, and the Governor's room in the City Hall appropriated to his use, where he was visited by a constant succession of citizens. At Newport and Providence he was greeted with every possible demonstration of welcome and admira-

tion; and on reaching Boston he was met and conducted to the Tremont House by a very numerous cavalcade.

At all these cities, and many others on his route, he received pressing invitations to public dinners; but being accompanied by his family, he had, on leaving Kentucky, prescribed to himself the rule, to which he rigidly adhered, of declining all such invitations. By all classes in New England, and particularly by the manufacturing population, Mr. Clay was received as a friend and benefactor. The cordiality of his welcome showed that his motives in originating the Compromise Act had been duly appreciated by those who were most deeply interested in the preservation of the American System. He visited many of the manufacturing towns, and on all occasions met with a reception which indicated how strongly the affections of the People were enlisted in his favor. At Faneuil Hall and on Bunker Hill, he received Addresses from Committees, to which he replied in his usual felicitous manner. While at Boston, a pair of elegant silver pitchers, weighing one hundred and fifty ounces, were presented to him by the young men. A great crowd was present; and Mr. Clay, though taken by surprise, spoke for about half an hour in a manner to enchant his hearers. The following apposite Toast was offered by one of the young men on the occasion: "Our Guest and Gift—our Friend and Pitcher!"

While at Salem, Mr. Clay attended a lecture at the Lyceum, when the audience, numbering about twelve hundred persons, spontaneously rose, and loudly greeted him on his entrance. On the fourth of November, he left Boston with his family on his return journey. He took the route through Massachusetts to Albany, passing through Worcester, Hartford, Springfield, Northampton, Pittsfield, &c. and being every where hailed by a grateful People with every demonstration of heartfelt attachment and reverence.

At Troy and Albany, the manifestations of popular attachment were not less marked than in Massachusetts. In both places the People rose up as one man to do him honor; and at both places he made replies to the addresses presented to him, which are excellent specimens of his familiar style of eloquence. The multitudes of citizens who met, followed and waited upon him at every point, in rapid succession, indicated how large a space he occupied in the public heart. As he said in one of the numerous speeches which he was called upon to make, during his tour, "he had been taken into custody, 'made captive of, but placed withal in such delightful bondage, that he could find no strength and no desire to break away from it.'"

The popular enthusiasm did not seem to have abated as he returned through those cities which he had but recently visited. On his way to Washington, he was met at New-York, Newark, Trenton, Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore, by delegations of citizens, whose attentions rendered his progress one of triumphal interest. He reached the Seat of Government in season to be present at the opening of Congress.

* The following passage is an extract from a speech delivered by John Tyler in the Virginia House of Delegates, in 1839, in favor of the Distribution of the Proceeds of the Public Lands, as recommended by the Kentucky Statesman:

"In my deliberate opinion, there was but one man, who could have arrested the then course of things, (the tendency of Nullification to dissolve the Union,) and that man was HENRY CLAY. It rarely happens, Mr. Speaker, to the most gifted, and talented, and patriotic, to record their names upon the page of history, in characters indelible and enduring. But, sir, if to have rescued his country from civil war—if to have preserved the Constitution and Union from hazard and total wreck, constitute any ground for an immortal and undying name among men, then I do believe, that he has won for himself that high renown. I speak what I do know, for I was an actor in the scenes of that perilous period. When he rose in that Senate Chamber, and held in his hand the Olive Branch of Peace, I, who had not known what envy was before, envied him. I was proud of him as my fellow-countryman, and still prouder that the *Slashes of Hancock*, within the limits of my old District, gave him birth."

CHAPTER XII.

The Public Lands—Anecdote—Mr. Clay's Report—Its provisions—Passage of the Land Bill—It is Vetoed by Gen. Jackson—Right of the Old States to a share in the Public Domain—Mr. Clay's efforts—Adjustment of the question—Mr. Van Buren's Nomination as Minister to England—Opposed by Mr. Clay.

MR. CLAY'S course in regard to the Public Lands presents a striking illustration of his patriotic disinterestedness and self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of justice. The characteristic traits which he displayed upon this question remind us of an anecdote of him, related a few years since by that eminent Statesman and high-minded Whig, William C. Preston, in a speech at Philadelphia. "On one occasion," said Mr. P. "he did me the honor to send for and consult with me. It was in reference to a 'step' he was about to take, and which will, perhaps, come to your minds without more direct allusions. After stating what he proposed, I suggested whether there would not be danger in it—whether such a course would not injure his own prospects, as well as those of the Whig party in general?—His reply was—'I did not send for you to ask what might be the effects of the proposed movement on my prospects, but whether it is right. I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT, THAN BE PRESIDENT.'"

On the twenty-second of March, 1832, Mr. Bibb, of Kentucky, moved an inquiry into the expediency of reducing the price of the Public Lands. Mr. Robinson, of Illinois, moved a further inquiry into the expediency of transferring the Public Territory to the States within which it lies, upon reasonable terms. With the view of embarrassing Mr. Clay, these topics were inappropriately referred by the Administration party to the Committee on Manufactures, of which he was a member. It was supposed by his enemies that he would make a "bid for the Presidency," by favoring the interested States at the expense of justice and sound policy. But he did not stop to calculate the consequences to himself. He did not attempt to evade or defer the question. He met it promptly. He expressed his opinions firmly and boldly; and those opinions, thus expressed, wise, equitable, conclusive, were immediately seized upon for the purpose of breaking him down in the New States. The design had been to embarrass him by holding out the alternative of baffling the cupidity of a portion of the People of the West, or shocking the sense of justice and invading the rights of the Old States—to injuriously affect his popularity either with the New or the Old States, or with both. But when was Henry Clay known to shrink from the responsibility of an avowed opinion upon a question of public moment? In about three weeks after the matter was referred to the Committee, he presented to Congress a most luminous, able and conclusive Report, and in the Bill appended to it arranged the details of a wise and equitable plan, which no subsequent legislation was able to improve.

Mr. Clay regarded the National Domain in the light of a "common fund," to be managed and disposed of for the "common benefit of all the States." This property, he thought, should be prudently and providently administered; that it should not be

wantonly sacrificed at inadequate prices, and that it should not be unjustly abandoned, in violation of the trust under which it was held, to a favored section of the country. These principles were the basis of his Bill, which provided—

I. That after the thirty-first day of December, 1832, twelve and a half per cent. of the nett proceeds of the Public Lands, sold within their limits, should be paid to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Alabama, Missouri and Mississippi, over and above what these States were severally entitled to by the compacts of their admission into the Union; to be applied to Internal Improvements and purposes of Education within those States, under the direction of their Legislatures—independently of the provisions for the construction and maintenance of the Cumberland Road.

II. After this deduction, the nett proceeds were to be distributed among the (then) twenty-four States, according to their respective Federal Representative population; to be applied to such objects of Internal Improvement, Education, or Colonization, as might be designated by their respective Legislatures, or the reimbursement of any previous debt contracted for Internal Improvements.

III. The act to continue in force for five years, except in the event of a war with any foreign power; and additional provisions to be made for any new State that might be meanwhile admitted to the Union.

IV. The minimum price of the public lands not to be increased; and not less than \$80,000 per annum to be applied to complete the public surveys.

V. Land offices to be discontinued in districts where for two successive years the proceeds of sales should be insufficient to pay the salaries of the officers employed.

VI. That certain designated quantities of land should be granted to six of the new States, not to be sold at a less price than the minimum price of lands sold by the United States, to be applied to Internal Improvements.

Such were the simple and just provisions of the Land Bill of Mr. Clay. To the new States they were abundantly liberal, without violating the terms of the original cession by the old States; for the money laid out in the new States for Internal Improvements subject to the use of the United States, may be justly regarded as for the "common benefit" of the Union.

The introduction of the report and bill created no little surprise and excitement in the Senate. It was hardly expected of a candidate for the Presidency, that he should have so promptly and peremptorily rejected the opportunity, thus temptingly presented, of bidding for the votes of the new States by holding out the prospect at least of aggrandizement. But on this subject, as on all others, Mr. Clay took the broad national ground. He looked at the question as a statesman, not as a politician. He suffered no individual inducements to influence his opinions or his policy. His paramount sense of duty; his habitual sense of the sacredness of compacts; his superiority to local, sectional, and personal considerations, were never more conspicuously and more honorably manifested than on this occasion.

The Land Bill was made the special order for the 20th of June, when it was taken up by Mr. Clay,

* The Speech on Slavery, and the reception of Abolition petitions.

and advocated with his usual eloquence and ability. Mr. Benton replied. His policy was to reduce the price of a portion of the Public Lands, and to surrender the residue to the States in which they lie. It would have given to the State of Missouri 25,000,000 of acres, or about 160 acres to every individual in the State, black and white; while the State of New-York, by whose blood and treasure, in part, this great Domain was acquired, would have been cut off without an acre! Various motions were made in the Senate for the postponement and amendment of Mr. Clay's bill. The policy of reducing the price was urged with great pertinacity by the friends of the Administration; but the objections of the report to this policy were justly regarded as unanswerable and insurmountable; and, on the third of July, the bill, essentially in the same form as reported, received its final passage in the Senate by a vote of 20 yeas to 18 nays. The late period of the session at which it was sent to the House, and the conflict of opinion in that body in respect to some of its provisions, enabled the Administration to effect its postponement to the first Monday of the following December, by a vote of 91 yeas to 88 nays.

This, of course, was equivalent to its rejection. But such were the wisdom and obvious equity of its provisions, and so highly did it commend itself to the good sense of the people, that the Administration party was compelled to yield to the uncontrollable force of public opinion. At the next session, therefore, of Congress, the bill was again taken up, and passed the Senate by a vote of 24 to 20, and the popular branch by a vote of 96 to 40. It was sent to the President for his approval.

Notwithstanding the unprecedented favor which it had found among the immediate Representatives of the people, it was "trampled," as Mr. Benton subsequently boasted, under the "big foot of President Jackson." The dissolution of Congress, before the expiration of the constitutional term for which he was authorized to retain the bill, enabled that self-willed and despotic Chief Magistrate to defeat the obvious will of the people. If it had been returned to Congress at the session of its passage it would have become a law by a two-thirds vote. It was therefore withheld, and, at the next session, on the 5th of December, 1833, was sent back with the veto of the President; and the veto, as we have every reason to believe, sprang from the personal hostility of General Jackson toward the author of the Land Bill, and an apprehension that it would augment the popularity of a rival, whom he feared and hated.

The principles of the Veto Message accorded with those which had been already promulgated by Mr. Benton. General Jackson declared himself in favor of reducing the price of a portion of the Public Lands and of surrendering the residue to the States in which they lie; and withdrawing the machinery of our land system. He objected to Mr. Clay's plan of giving an extra 12½ per cent. of the proceeds of the sales within their own limits to the new States, as an "indirect and undisguised violation of the pledge given by Congress to the States before a single cession was made; abrogating the condition on which some of the States came into the Union; and setting at naught the terms of cession spread upon the face of every grant under which the title of that

portion of the Public Lands are held by the Federal Government." Such were the shocking violations of principle and compact, involved in the limited and equitable grant to the new States, contemplated by the bill of Mr. Clay; and yet we were gravely told by General Jackson, in the same breath, that to sell the lands for a nominal price—to withdraw the land machinery of the Government altogether—to abandon the lands—to surrender the lands—to give them to the States in which they lie—"impaired no principle and violated no compact." It was a gross violation of compact—it was a flagrant outrage upon principle, to surrender a *part*—but the outrage was repaired, and the compact kept inviolate by an abandonment of the *whole*! Such was the reasoning of the Veto Message!

General Jackson had been obliged to change his grounds on this question, in order to thwart the views of Mr. Clay. In his Annual Message of December 4, 1832, he had recommended a measure fundamentally similar. But the measure now presented to him, though it had passed Congress by triumphant majorities, had been suggested, although not voluntarily, by an individual who shared no part in his counsels or his affections—by one, whom he had ungenerously injured, and whom he therefore disliked. He preferred the gratification of his malevolence to the preservation of his consistency. The consequence was his arbitrary retention of the bill, by an irregular and unprecedented proceeding, and his subsequent veto.

The right of the old States to the Public Domain is the right of conquest and of compact. Those lands were won by the blood and treasure of the thirteen Provinces. Their title deeds were signed, sealed and delivered on the plains of Yorktown. When the clouds of the Revolution had rolled away, and the discordant elements of the Confederation were taking the shape and system of our present glorious Constitution—the sages and soldiers of liberty assembled for the establishment of a more perfect union. To realize this grand end of their labors, they recommended to the thirteen States to make a common cession of their Territories to the Federal Government; that they might be administered for their common benefit, and stand as a pledge for the redemption of the Public Debt. Patriotic Virginia, following the wise councils of her Washingtons, Henrys and Jeffersons, surrendered without a murmur her boundless domain—now the seat of numerous new States, and still stretching thousands of leagues into the unsurveyed and uninhabited wilderness. Her sister States, though they had less to surrender, surrendered all that they possessed; and in return for this liberal and patriotic abandonment of local advantages for the common good, the Congress of the United States pledged itself by the most solemn compact to administer this vast Domain for the common benefit of its original proprietors, and of such new States as should thereafter be admitted to the Union.

The 2d of May, 1834, Mr. Clay made a report from the Committee on Public Lands, in relation to the President's return of the Land Bill. In this paper he exposes with great ability the inconclusiveness of the President's reasons. For some ten years, Mr. Clay was the vigilant, laborious, and finally successful opponent of the monstrous project of the admini-

istration for squandering the Public Domain and robbing the old States. To his unremitted exertions we shall have been indebted for the successive defeats of the advocates of the plunder system, and for the final adjustment of the question according to his own equitable propositions. By this adjustment, all sections of the country are treated with rigid impartiality. The interest of no one State is sacrificed to that of the others. The West, the North, the South and the East, all fare alike. A more wise and provident system could not have been devised. It will stand as a perpetual monument of the enlarged patriotism, unerring sagacity, and uncompromising justice of its author.

The question of confirming Mr. Van Buren's nomination as Minister to England, came before the Senate during the Session of 1831-2. The conduct of that gentleman while Secretary of State, in his instructions to Mr. McLane, had excited general displeasure. Not content with exerting his ingenuity to put his own country in the wrong and the British Government in the right, Mr. Van Buren had endeavored to attach to Mr. Adams's administration the discredit of bringing forward unfounded "pretensions," and by himself disclaiming those pretensions, to propitiate the favor of the British King. Upon the subject of the Colonial Trade, he said: "*To set up the acts of the late Administration, as the cause of a forfeiture of privileges which would otherwise be extended to the people of the United States, would, under existing circumstances, be unjust in itself, and could not fail to excite their deepest SENSIBILITY.*"

The parasitical, anti-American spirit displayed throughout these celebrated instructions, constituted a sufficient ground for the rejection of Mr. Van Buren's nomination. Mr. Clay's personal relations toward that individual had always been of a friendly character, but he did not allow them to influence his sense of public justice. He addressed the Senate emphatically against the nomination, declaring that his main objection arose out of the instructions; the offensive passages in which he quoted.

"On our side," said he, "according to Mr. Van Buren, all was wrong; on the British side, all was right. We brought forward nothing but *claims and pretensions*; the British Government asserted on the other hand a clear and incontestible *right*. We erred in too tenaciously and too long insisting upon our *pretensions*, and not yielding at once to their *just demands*. And Mr. McLane was commanded to avail himself of all the circumstances in his power to *mitigate our offence*, and to dissuade the British Government from allowing their feelings justly incurred by the past conduct of the party driven from power, to have an adverse influence toward the American party now in power. Sir, was this becoming language from one independent nation to another? Was it proper in the mouth of an American minister? Was it in conformity with the high, unsullied, and dignified character of our previous diplomacy? Was it not, on the contrary, the language of an humble vassal to a proud and haughty lord? Was it not prostrating and degrading the American Eagle before the British Lion?"

The nomination of Mr. Van Buren was rejected in the Senate by the casting vote of the Vice President, Mr. Calhoun. It has been said that this act was a blunder in policy on the part of the Opposition in the Senate—that it made a political martyr of a wily and intriguing antagonist, and commended

him to the sympathy and vindictory favor of his party. All this may be true; but it does not affect the principle of the measure. Mr. Clay did not lack the sagacity to foresee its probable consequences; but, where the honor of his country was concerned, expediency was with him always an inferior consideration.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Currency Question—Gen. Jackson's "humble efforts" to Improve our Condition—Recharter of the U. S. Bank, and the President's Veto—Mr. Clay's Speech upon the subject—Character of the Veto Power—Removal of the Deposits—Secretaries Duane and Taney—Mr. Clay's relations toward the Bank—His Resolutions in regard to the Removal of the Deposits—His Speech—Anecdote—Passage of Mr. Clay's Resolutions—The Protest—Its Doctrines—Eloquent Debates in the Senate—Mr. Leigh—Interesting Incident—The Protest Excluded from the Journal—Unremitted exertions of Mr. Clay—Public Distress—Memorials—Forcible Comparison—The Panic Session—Anecdote—Mr. Clay's Departure for Kentucky—Serious Accident.

FOR the last twelve years the country has been kept in a fever of perpetual excitement, or in a state of alternate paralysis and convulsion, by the agitation of the Currency question. General Jackson found us in 1829 in a condition of general prosperity. The Government was administered with Republican economy. The Legislature, the Judiciary and the Executive, every one wielding its constitutional powers, moved on harmoniously in their respective spheres; and the result was a system that secured the happiness of the people and challenged the admiration of the civilized world. Commerce, agriculture, manufactures and the mechanic arts flourished; lending mutual aid, and enjoying a common prosperity, fostered by the Government and diffusing blessings among the community. The banking system was sound throughout the States. Our currency was uniform in value, and the local banks were compelled to restrict their issues to their ability of redemption in specie. There was no wild speculation. Industrious enterprise was the only source of fortune. Labor was amply employed, abundantly compensated, and safe in the enjoyment of its wages. The habits of the people were simple and democratic. Our foreign credit was without a stain, and the whole machinery of Government, trade and currency, had been brought to a state approaching the utmost limit to be attained by human ingenuity and human wisdom.

In 1830, Gen. Jackson commenced his "humble efforts" for improving our condition. He advised, in his message of that year, the establishment of a Treasury Bank, with the view, among other things, of "strengthening the States," by leaving in their hands "the means of furnishing the local paper currency through their own banks." This was his original plan, and in this message we hear nothing of a better currency, or the substitution of the precious metals for bank paper. In the following year he again brought the subject before Congress, and left it to the "investigation of an enlightened people and their representatives." The investigation took place; and Congress passed a bill for the recharter of the United States Bank. This bill was peremptorily *retorted* by General Jackson, who condemned it as premature, and modestly remarked in regard to a Bank, "Had the Executive been called upon to furnish the project of such an institution, the duty would have been cheerfully performed."

Mr. Clay was one of the foremost in denouncing the extraordinary doctrines of this Veto Message. On the 12th of July, 1832, he addressed the Senate upon the subject. We have already given an exposition of his views upon the question of a Bank. They are too well known to the Country to require reiteration in this place. They have been frankly avowed on all fitting occasions. Touching this Veto power, that monarchical feature in our Constitution, his opinions were such as might have been expected from the leader of the Democratic Party of 1815. He considered it irreconcilable with the genius of a Representative Government; and cited the Constitution of Kentucky, by which, if after the rejection of a bill by the Governor, it shall be passed by a majority of all the members elected to both Houses, it becomes a law notwithstanding the Governor's objection.

The abuses to which this power has been subjected under the Administrations of Jackson and Tyler, call loudly for an amendment of the Federal Constitution. The veto of a single magistrate on a bill passed by a numerous body of popular Representatives, immediately expressing the opinion of all classes of the community, and all sections of the country, indicates obviously an enormous prerogative. It must so strike every one who has ever reasoned on Government. When the People of Paris called upon Mirabeau to save them from the grant of such a power, telling him that, if granted, all was lost, they spoke a sentiment that is as universal as the sense and spirit of Liberty. When we reflect that no King of England has dared to exercise this power since the year 1692, we cannot but feel that there must have been good reason in the jealousy of the People, and in the apprehension of the Crown. Mr. Burke, in his celebrated letter to the Sheriff of Bristol, observes, in reference to the exercise of this power by the King, that it is "wisely forborne. Its repose may be the preservation of its existence, and its existence may be the means of saving the Constitution itself, on an occasion worthy of bringing it forth." So high a power was it considered by Mr. Jefferson, that he was at one time decidedly in favor of associating the Judiciary with the Executive in its exercise.

It is in this light that the Veto power should be considered—as a most serious and sacred one, to be exercised only on emergencies worthy to call it forth. On all questions of mere opinion, mere expediency, the Representatives of the People are the best, as they are the legitimate judges.

The monstrous doctrine had been advanced by General Jackson, in his Veto Message, that every public officer may interpret the Constitution as he pleases. On this point Mr. Clay said, with great cogency:—"I conceive, with great deference, that the President has mistaken the purport of the oath to support the Constitution of the United States. No one swears to support it *as he understands it*, but to support it simply as it is in truth. All men are bound to obey the laws, of which the Constitution is the supreme; but must they obey them as they are, or as they understand them? If the obligation of obedience is limited and controlled by the measure of information; in other words, if the party is bound to obey the Constitution only as he understands it, what would be the conse-

quence? There would be general disorder and confusion throughout every branch of Administration, from the highest to the lowest officers—universal Nullification."

During the Session of 1832-3, General Jackson declared that the Public Deposits were not safe in the vaults of the United States Bank, and called upon Congress to look into the subject and to augment what he then considered the "limited powers" of the Secretary of the Treasury over the Public Money. Congress made the desired investigation, and the House of Representatives, by a vote of 109 to 46, declared the Deposits to be perfectly safe. Resolved on gratifying his feelings of personal animosity toward the friends of the Bank, General Jackson did not allow this explicit declaration on the part of the immediate Agents of the People to shake his despotic purpose. During the Autumn of 1833, he resolved upon that most arbitrary of arbitrary measures, the removal of the Deposits. The Cabinet Council, to whom he originally proposed this measure, are said to have disapproved of it in the most decided terms. Mr. McLane, the Secretary of the Treasury, refused to lend to it his assistance. He was accordingly translated to the office of Secretary of State, made vacant by the appointment of Mr. Livingston to the French Mission; and William J. Duane of Philadelphia took his place at the Head of the Treasury Department. Mr. Duane, however, did not turn out to be the pliable tool which the President had expected to find him. On the 20th of September, 1833, it was authoritatively announced to the public that the Deposits would be removed. The next day Mr. Duane made known to the President his resolution, neither voluntarily to withdraw from his post nor to be made the instrument of illegally removing the Public Treasures. The consequence was, the rude dismissal of the independent Secretary from office on the 23d of September. Mr. Taney, who had sustained the views of the President, was made his successor; and the People's Money was removed from the Depository where the law had placed it, and scattered among irresponsible State Institutions under the control of greedy partisans.

The Congressional Session of 1833-4, was one of extraordinary interest, in consequence of the discussion of this high-handed measure.

In his Message to Congress, the President said: "Since the adjournment of Congress, the Secretary of the Treasury has directed the Money of the United States to be deposited in certain State Banks designated by him; and he will immediately lay before you his reasons for this direction. I concur with him entirely in the view he has taken of the subject; and, some months before the removal, I urged upon the Department the propriety of taking the step." The 'reasons' adduced by Mr. Taney for lending his aid to the seizure of the Public Money, were such as might have been expected from an adroit lawyer. However satisfactory they might have been to General Jackson and his party, they were utterly insufficient to justify the act in the eyes of dispassionate and clear-minded men. Mr. Taney undertook to sustain his position by a precedent which he assumed to find in a letter addressed by Mr. Crawford, when Secretary of the

Treasury, to the President of the Mechanics' Bank of New-York. On the 19th of December, Mr. Clay introduced Resolutions into the Senate calling upon Mr. Taney for a copy of the letter, an extract from which he had cited in his Report.

In his remarks upon the occasion of presenting these Resolutions, Mr. Clay made some observations in regard to his own personal relations toward the Bank. An individual high in office had allowed himself to assert that a dishonorable connection had subsisted between him (Mr. C.) and that Institution. Mr. Clay said that when the Charter, then existing, was granted, he voted for it; and, having done so, he did not feel himself at liberty to subscribe, and he did not subscribe for a single share in the Stock of the Bank, although he confidently anticipated a great rise in its value. A few years afterward, during the Presidency of Mr. Jones, it was thought by some of his friends at Philadelphia, expedient to make him (Mr. C.) a Director of the Bank of the United States; and he was made a Director, without any consultation with him. For that purpose, five shares were purchased for him by a friend, for which he (Mr. C.) afterward paid. When he ceased to be a Director, a short time subsequently, he disposed of those shares; since which time he has never been proprietor of a single share.

When Mr. Cheves was appointed President of the Bank, its affairs in the States of Kentucky and Ohio were in great disorder; and Mr. Clay's professional services were engaged during several years for the Bank in those States. He brought a vast number of suits, and transacted a great amount of professional business for the Bank. Among other suits, was one for the recovery of \$100,000, seized under the authority of a law of Ohio, which he carried through the Inferior and Supreme Courts. He was paid by the Bank the usual compensation for these services and no more. No professional fees were ever more honestly and fairly earned. For upwards of eight years past, however, he had not been the counsel for the Bank. He did not owe the Bank, or any of its Branches, a solitary cent. Some twelve or fifteen years before, owing to the failure of a friend, a large amount of debt had been thrown upon Mr. Clay, as his endorser; and it was principally due to the Bank of the United States. Mr. Clay commenced a system of rigid economy—established for himself a *sinking fund*—worked hard, and paid off the debt without receiving from the Bank the slightest favor.

The resolutions of Mr. Clay, calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury for a copy of the letter, said to have been written by Mr. Crawford, passed the Senate; and on the 13th of December, a communication was received from Mr. Taney, the character of which was evasive and unsatisfactory. The Senate had asked for documents, and he gave them arguments. In reference to Mr. Crawford's opinions, Mr. Clay said, that although there was plausibility in the construction, which the Secretary had given to them, yet he, (Mr. Clay) would undertake to show that the opinions ascribed to Mr. Crawford in reference to the Bank Charter, were never asserted by him.

On the 26th of December, 1833, Mr. Clay laid the following resolutions before the Senate:

'1. *Resolved*, That, by dismissing the late Sec-

retary of the Treasury, because he would not, contrary to his sense of his own duty, remove the money of the United States in deposit with the Bank of the United States and Branches, in conformity with the President's opinion; and by appointing his successor to effect such removal, which has been done, the President has assumed the exercise of a power over the Treasury of the United States, not granted by the Constitution and Laws, and dangerous to the liberties of the people.

"2. *Resolved*, That the reasons assigned by the Secretary of the Treasury, for the removal of the money of the United States from the United States Bank and its Branches, communicated to Congress on the 3d day of December, 1833, are unsatisfactory and insufficient."

Mr. Clay's speech in support of the resolutions was delivered partly on the 26th and partly on the 30th of December; and it is one of the most masterly efforts of eloquence ever heard within the walls of the Capitol. In force and amplitude of argument, variety and appropriateness of illustration, and energy of diction, it is equalled by few oratorical productions in the English language. During its delivery, the Lower House was almost deserted; and the galleries of the Senate Chamber were filled by a mutely attentive audience, whose enthusiasm occasionally broke forth in unparliamentary bursts of applause—a demonstration, which is rarely elicited except when the feelings are aroused to an extraordinary degree.

In his exordium, Mr. Clay briefly glanced at some of the principal usurpations and abuses of the Administration:

"We are," said he, "in the midst of a revolution, hitherto bloodless, but rapidly tending towards a total change of the pure Republican character of the Government, and to the concentration of all power in the hands of one man. The powers of Congress are paralyzed, except when exerted in conformity with his will, by a frequent and extraordinary exercise of the Executive Veto, not anticipated by the founders of the Constitution, and not practised by any of the predecessors of the present Chief Magistrate. And, to cramp them still more, a new expedient is springing into use, of withholding altogether bills which have received the sanction of both Houses of Congress, thereby cutting off all opportunity of passing them, even if, after their return, the members should be unanimous in their favor. The Constitutional participation of the Senate in the appointing power is virtually abolished by the constant use of the power of removal from office, without any known cause, and by the appointment of the same individual to the same office, after his rejection by the Senate. How often have we, Senators, felt that the check of the Senate, instead of being, as the Constitution intended, a salutary control, was an idle ceremony? * * * * *

"The Judiciary has not been exempted from the prevailing rage for innovation. Decisions of the tribunals deliberately pronounced have been contemptuously disregarded, and the sanctity of numerous Treaties openly violated. Our Indian relations, coeval with the existence of the Government, and recognized and established by numerous laws and treaties, have been subverted; the rights of the helpless and unfortunate aborigines trampled in the dust, and they brought under subjection to unknown laws, in which they have no voice, promulgated in an unknown language. The most extensive and most valuable Public Domain, that ever fell to the lot of one Nation, is threatened with a total sacrifice. The general currency of the country—the life-blood of all its business—is in the most imminent danger of universal disorder and confusion. The power of Internal Improve-

ment lies crushed beneath the Veto. The system of Protection of American Industry was snatched from impending destruction at the last session; but we are now coolly told by the Secretary of the Treasury, without a blush, that it is understood to be *conceded on all hands*, that a Tariff for Protection merely is to be finally abandoned.' By the 3d of March, 1837, if the progress of innovation continue, there will be scarcely a vestige remaining of the Government and its policy, as it existed prior to the 3d of March, 1829."

In the paper read to his Cabinet on the 18th of September, 1833, and afterwards published in the newspapers, but which he refused to communicate to the Senate, when called upon by them so to do, President Jackson is made to employ terms of blandishment toward his new Secretary of the Treasury, as if to gild the shackles of dictation imposed by Executive power in regard to the removal of the deposits. He says, he trusts that the Secretary will see in his remarks, "only the frank and respectful declarations of the opinions which the President has formed on a measure of great National interest, deeply affecting the character and usefulness of his Administration, and not a spirit of dictation, which the President would be as careful to avoid, as ready to resist."

Mr. Clay very happily illustrates the hypocrisy of this deferential language. "Sir, it reminds me of an historical anecdote related of one of the most remarkable characters which our species has ever produced. While Oliver Cromwell was contending for the mastery of Great Britain or Ireland, (I do not now remember which,) he besieged a certain Catholic town. The place made a stout resistance; but at length the town being likely to be taken, the poor Catholics proposed terms of capitulation, stipulating therein for the toleration of their religion. The paper containing the terms was brought to Oliver, who, putting on his spectacles to read it, cried out: 'Oh, granted, granted! certainly! He, however, added—'but if one of them shall dare be found attending Mass, he shall be hanged!'"—(under which section is not mentioned—whether under a second, or any other section, of any particular law, we are not told.)

After proving what is now notorious to the whole country, that the Removal of the Deposits was the act of General Jackson and of him alone, and that the Secretary of the Treasury was merely the *cat's-paw* in the accomplishment of the seizure, Mr. Clay proceeded to show that it was in violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States. His argument on this point is faithful and conclusive.

We regret that our limited space prevents us from quoting freely from this interesting speech. It contains a succinct history of all the financial exploits of General Jackson and his subservient Secretary up to the period of its delivery; and is as valuable for its documentary facts as it is interesting for the vigor and animation of its style, and the impregnability of its arguments.

The resolution declaring the insufficiency of the reasons assigned by the Secretary of the Treasury for the Removal of the Deposits, having been referred to the Committee on Finance, at the head of which was Mr. Webster, was reported with a recommendation that it be adopted. The question upon the resolution was not taken till the 28th of March,

when it was passed by the Senate, 23 to 18. At the instance of some of his friends, Mr. Clay then modified his other resolution, so as to read as follows:

"Resolved, That the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the Public Revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and Laws, but in derogation of both."

The resolution was adopted by the following vote:

YEAS—Messrs. Bibb, Black, Calhoun, Clay, Clayton, Ewing, Frelinghuysen, Kent, Knight, Leigh, Mangum, Naudain, Poindexter, Porter, Prentiss, Preston, Robbins, Silsbee, Smith, Southard, Sprague, Swift, Tomlinson, Tyler, Waggaman, Webster—26.

NAYS—Messrs. Benton, Brown, Forsyth, Grundy, Hendricks, Hill, Kane, King of Alabama, King of Georgia, Linn, McKean, Moore, Morris, Robinson, Shepley, Tallmadge, Tipton, White, Wilkins, Wright—20.

The passage of Mr. Clay's resolution drew forth from the President the celebrated Protest, which was communicated to the Senate the 17th of April, 1833. This document was of a most novel and unprecedented character, and gave rise to debates, which will always be memorable in our legislative annals. The assumptions of the President were truly of a kind to excite alarm among the friends of our Republican system. In this extraordinary paper he maintains, that he is responsible for the acts of every Executive officer, and that *all* the powers given by law are vested in him as the head and fountain of all. He alludes to the Secretary of the Treasury as *his* Secretary, and says that Congress cannot take from the Executive the control of the Public Money. His doctrine is, that the President should, under his oath of office, sustain the Constitution as *he understands it*; not as the Judiciary may expound, or Congress declare it. From these principles, he infers that all subordinate officers are merely the executors of his supreme will, and that he has the right to discharge them whenever he may please.

These monstrous and despotic assumptions, transcending as they do the prerogatives claimed by most of the monarchs of Europe, afforded a theme for eloquent discussion, which was not neglected by the opposition, who then constituted the majority in the Senate. Mr. Poindexter, of Mississippi protested against the reception of such a paper from the President; and moved that it be not received. Mr. Sprague, of Maine, exposed its fallacies, and denounced its doctrines in spirited and indignant terms. The Senators from New-Jersey, Messrs. Frelinghuysen and Southard, expressed their astonishment and indignation in strong and decided language. Mr. Benton, "solitary and alone," stood forth as the champion of the President and the Protest.

The next day (April 18th) the consideration of Mr. Poindexter's motion was resumed; and Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, addressed the Senate for about two hours in a speech of rare ability. Toward its conclusion an unusual incident occurred. Mr. King, of Alabama, had claimed for the President the merit of adjusting the Tariff question. He might, with quite as much truth, have claimed for him the merit of writing the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Leigh, in reply to this assumption, spoke as follows:

"Sir, I cannot but remember, that during the anxious winter of 1832-3, when South Carolina, under a deep sense of injustice and oppression, (whether

well or ill founded, it is immaterial now to inquire,) was exerting her utmost efforts (no matter now whether wisely or not) to bring about a relaxation of the system—when all men were trembling under the apprehension of Civil War—*trembling from the conviction, that if such a contest should arise, let it terminate how it might, it would put our present institutions in jeopardy, and end either in Consolidation or Disunion—for, I am persuaded, that the first drop of blood which shall be shed in a civil strife between the Federal Government and any State, will flow from an unmedicable wound, that none may hope ever to see healed—I cannot but remember that the President, though wielding such vast power and influence, never contributed the least aid to bring about the compromise that saved us from the evils which all men, I believe, and I certainly, so much dreaded. The men are not present to whom we are chiefly indebted for that compromise; and I am glad they are absent, since it enables me to speak of their conduct as I feel, without restraint from a sense of delicacy—I raise my humble voice in gratitude for that service to Henry Clay of the Senate, and Robert P. Letcher of the House of Representatives—”*

Here Mr. Leigh was interrupted by loud and prolonged plaudits in the gallery. The Vice President suspended the discussion, and ordered the galleries to be cleared. While the Sergeant-at-Arms was in the act of fulfilling this order, the applause was repeated. Mr. Benton moved that the persons applauding should be taken into custody; but before the motion could be considered, the galleries were vacated and order was restored.

On the 21st of April, another message was received from the President, being a sort of codicil to the Protest, in which he undertook to explain certain passages, which he feared had been misapprehended. Mr. Poindexter withdrew his original motion, and substituted four resolutions, in which it was embodied. These resolutions were modified by Mr. Clay, and an amendment suggested by Mr. Calhoun was adopted. Messrs. Clayton, Webster, Preston, Ewing, Mangum, and others, addressed the Senate eloquently on various occasions upon the subject of the Protest; and, on the 30th of April, Mr. Clay, the resolution of Mr. Poindexter still pending, made his well-known speech. Although the subject seemed to have been exhausted by the accomplished speakers who had preceded him, it was at once re-invested with the charms of novelty in his hands. The speech contains the most complete and faithful picture of Jacksonism ever presented to the country.

The Resolutions of Mr. Poindexter passed the Senate, by a vote of 27 to 16, on the seventh of May. They exclude the Protest from the Journals, and declare that the President of the United States has no right to send a Protest to the Senate against any of its proceedings.

On the twenty-eighth of May, 1834, Mr. Clay introduced two joint Resolutions, reasserting what had been already declared by Resolutions of the Senate, that the reasons assigned by the Secretary of the Treasury to Congress, for the Removal of the Public Deposits, were insufficient and unsatisfactory; and providing that, from and after the first day of July ensuing, all Deposits which might accrue from the Public Revenue, subsequent to that period, should be placed in the Bank of the United States and its Branches, pursuant to the 16th section of the Act to Incorporate the Subscribers to the United States Bank.

In presenting these Resolutions, Mr. Clay remarked that, whatever might be their fate at the other end of the Capitol or in another building, that consideration ought to have no influence on the course of the Senate. The Resolutions were adopted and sent to the House, where they were laid upon the table, and, as was anticipated, never acted upon.

The labors of Mr. Clay during the celebrated session of 1833-4, appear to have been arduous and incessant. On every important question that came before the Senate, he spoke, showing himself the ever-vigilant and active opponent of Executive usurpation. Immediately after the withdrawal of the Public Money from the United States Bank, and before the “Pet Banks,” to which the treasure had been transferred, had created an unhealthy plethora in the Currency by their consequent expansions, the distress among the People began to manifest itself in numerous memorials to Congress, protesting against the President’s financial experiments, and calling for relief. Many of these memorials were communicated to the Senate through Mr. Clay, and he generally accompanied their presentation with a brief but pertinent speech. His remarks on presenting a memorial from Kentucky, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1834—and from Troy, the fourteenth of April—are eloquent expositions of the financial condition of the country at those periods. In his speech of the fifth of February, on a motion to print additional copies of the Report of the Committee on Finance, to whom had been referred the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury in regard to the Removal of the Deposits, we find the following just and forcible image:

“The idea of uniting thirty or forty local Banks for the establishment and security of an equal Currency could never be realized. As well might the crew of a national vessel be put on board thirty or forty bark canoes, tied together by a grape-vine, and sent out upon the troubled ocean, while the billows were rising mountain-high, and the tempest was exhausting its rage on the foaming element, in the hope that they might weather the storm, and reach their distant destination in safety. The People would be contented with no such fleet of bark canoes, with Admiral Taney in their command. They would be heard again calling out for Old Ironsides, which had never failed them in the hour of trial, whether amidst the ocean’s storm, or in the hour of battle.”

This session, generally known as the “Panic Session,” was one of the most remarkable that have ever occurred in the progress of our Government. Never was there collected in the Senate a greater amount of eminent ability. For weeks together the Whigs poured forth a torrent of eloquent denunciations, in every form, against that high-handed measure, the Removal of the Deposits. This was most generally done on the occasion of presenting petitions or memorials from the People against it. Go into the Senate Chamber any morning during this interesting period, and you would find some Whig on his feet, expatiating on the pernicious consequences of that most disastrous proceeding. It was then that they predicted the evil effects of it, since so fatally and exactly realized.

Mr. Clay was among the most active and eloquent of these distinguished champions of the People. No one exhibited so great a variety of weapons of attack upon the Administration, or so consummate a skill

in the use of them. Early in March, 1834, a Committee from Philadelphia arrived in Washington with a memorial from a large body of Mechanics, depicting the state of prostration and distress produced among all the laboring classes, by the high-handed and pernicious measures of the Administration. In presenting this memorial, Mr. Clay took occasion to deviate somewhat from the beaten track of debate. He made a direct appeal to the Vice President, Mr. Van Buren, charging him with the delivery of a message to the Executive. After glancing at the gloomy condition of the country, he remarked that it was in the power of the Chief Magistrate to adopt a measure which, in twenty-four hours, would afford an efficacious and substantial remedy, and re-establish confidence; and those who, in that Chamber, supported the Administration, could not render a better service than to repair to the Executive Mansion, and, placing before the Chief Magistrate the naked and undisguised truth, prevail upon him to retrace his steps and abandon his fatal experiment.

"No one, Sir," continued Mr. Clay, turning to the Vice President, "can perform that duty with more propriety than yourself. You can, if you will, induce him to change his course. To you, then, Sir, in no unfriendly spirit, but with feelings softened and subdued by the deep distress which pervades every class of our countrymen, I make the appeal. By your official and personal relations with the President, you maintain with him an intercourse which I neither enjoy nor covet. Go to him and tell him without exaggeration, but in the language of truth and sincerity, the actual condition of his bleeding Country. Tell him it is nearly ruined and undone by the measures which he has been induced to put in operation. Tell him that his experiment is operating on the Nation like the philosopher's experiment upon a convulsed animal in an exhausted receiver; and that it must expire in agony if he does not pause, give it fresh and sound circulation, and suffer the energies of the People to be revived and restored. Tell him that in a single city more than sixty bankruptcies, involving a loss of more than fifteen millions of dollars, have occurred. Depict to him, if you can find language for the task, the heart-rending wretchedness of thousands of the Working Classes. Tell him how much more true glory is to be won by retracing false steps than by blindly rushing on until the country is overwhelmed in bankruptcy and ruin. Entreat him to pause."

In this strain Mr. Clay proceeded for nearly twenty minutes. Nothing could be more eloquent, touching and unanswerable than the appeal, although, of course, it failed of effect. "Well, Mr. Van Buren, did you deliver the message I charged you with?" asked Mr. Clay, as he met the Vice President in the Senate Chamber the next morning before the day's session had commenced.

The reply of Mr. Van Buren is not recorded. That gentleman, however, was never celebrated for his powers of repartee. During the period of his Vice Presidency, Mr. Clay dined with him on one occasion in company with the Judges of the United States Court, the Heads of Departments, and others. Conversation at dinner glanced at the fact that Tory Ministers, both in England and in France, were more disposed than Whig Ministers to do justice to the

United States, and deal liberally with them in all international negotiations. All the parties present agreed as to the fact; and turning suddenly to Mr. Van Buren, Mr. Clay said:—"If you will permit me, I will propose a toast." "With great pleasure," returned the Vice President. "I propose," said Mr. Clay, "*Tory Ministers in England and France, and a Whig Ministry in the United States.*" The toast was drunk with great cordiality by the company, Mr. Van Buren affecting to laugh, but blushing at the same time up to the eyes, and evidently nonplussed for a retort.

The message addressed by Mr. Clay to the Vice President recalls to mind another, which he requested the late Mr. Grundy to deliver to President Jackson. It was the last of February, 1833, when the Land Bill was pending. "Tell General Jackson," said Mr. Clay, "that if he will sign that bill I will pledge myself to retire from Congress and never enter public life again." Mr. Grundy, who was an amiable and remarkably good-natured person, said: "No, I can't deliver that message; for we may have use for you hereafter." This was, it will be remembered, at the session when the Compromise passed.

The First Session of the Twenty-Third Congress terminated the 30th of June, 1834, and Mr. Clay, after his prolonged and laborious exertions in behalf of the Constitution and the Laws, set out immediately on his journey home. As the stage-coach, in which he was proceeding from Charlestown toward Winchester in Virginia, was descending a hill, it was overturned, and a worthy young gentleman, Mr. Hunrickhouse, son of the Contractor, was instantly killed by being crushed by the vehicle. He was seated by the side of the driver. Mr. Clay was slightly injured. The accident happened in consequence of a defect in the breast-chain, which gave way. On his arrival at Winchester, Mr. Clay was invited to a Public Dinner, which he declined, as well on account of his desire to reach home, as because of this melancholy accident, which disqualified him for immediate enjoyment at the festive board.

CHAPTER XIV.

Our Claims on France—Hostile tone of General Jackson's Message of 1834—Recommends Reprisals—Mr. Clay's Report on the subject—Discussion—Unanimous adoption of his Resolution—Effect of the Message—Speech on presenting the Charteau Memorial—Executive Patronage—The Cumberland Road.

THE most important question which came before Congress at its Second Session, in 1834-5, was that of our Relations with France. The claims of our citizens upon that Government for aggressions upon our Commerce between the years 1800 and 1817 had been repeatedly admitted; but no decided steps toward a settlement had been taken until the 4th of July, 1831, when a Treaty was ratified, by which it was agreed, on the part of the French, that the sum of twenty-five millions of francs should be paid to the United States as an indemnity. By the terms of the Treaty, the first instalment was to be paid at the expiration of one year after the exchange of the ratifications.

The French Government having failed in the performance of this stipulation—the draft of the United States for the first instalment having been dishonored by the Minister of Finance—President Jackson, in

his Message of December, 1834, to Congress, recommended that, in case provision should not be made for the payment of the debt at the approaching Session of the French Chambers, a law should be passed authorizing reprisals upon French property. This was a step not to be precipitately taken; and, to insure its patriotic, dispassionate and statesman-like consideration, the Senate placed Mr. Clay at the head of the Committee on Foreign Relations, to which Committee that part of the President's Message relating to our affairs with France was referred.

On the 6th of January, 1835, Mr. Clay made his celebrated Report to the Senate. It was read by him from his seat, its reading occupying an hour and a half; the Senate Chamber being thronged during its delivery by Members of the House, and the galleries filled to overflowing. The ability displayed in this extraordinary document, the firmness and moderation of its tone, the perspicuous arrangement of facts which it presents, the lucidity and strength of its style, and the inevitable weight of its conclusions called forth the admiration and concurrence of all parties. It would seem to have been, under Providence, the means of averting a war with France. In the preparation of it, Mr. Clay had a difficult and delicate task to perform; and it was accomplished with great ingenuity and success. Not a word that could lower the national tone and spirit was indulged in. He eloquently maintained that the right lay on our side, but admitted that the French King had not been so far in the wrong that all hopes of the execution of the Treaty were extinct, nor did he consider that hostile measures were yet justifiable. This temperate, judicious, firm and statesman-like language, while it removed all cause of offence on the part of the French, imparted new renown to our own Diplomacy. While it was all that the most chivalrous champions of their Country's honor could ask, it breathed a spirit which called forth the full approbation of the friends of peace.

As soon as Mr. Clay had finished the reading of his Report, a discussion arose in the Senate as to the number which should be printed. Mr. Poindexter moved the printing of twenty thousand extra copies. Mr. Clay thought that number too large, and suggested five thousand. Mr. Calhoun said he should vote for the largest number proposed. He had heard the report read with the greatest pleasure. It contained the whole grounds which ought to be laid before the people. Of all calamities that could befall the country, he most deplored a French War at that time. Under these considerations he should vote for twenty thousand copies.

Mr. Ewing and Mr. Porter would vote for the largest number, and the latter would have preferred thirty or forty thousand.

Mr. Preston said he was strongly impressed by the views taken by the Committee, and considered them sufficient to satisfy the people that we could honorably and justly avoid war with France. Concurring in the sentiments of the Committee, and entertaining a profound respect for the wisdom exhibited in the Report, he was anxious that the document should be spread through the country as widely as possible.

The Senate finally ordered twenty thousand copies of this admirable report to be printed, and it was

soon scattered to the remotest corners of the Union. Its effect in reviving the confidence and allaying the fears of our mercantile community must be fresh in the remembrance of many. The rates of Insurance were at once diminished, and Commerce spread her white wings to the gale, and swept the ocean once more unchecked by the liabilities of a hostile encounter. The depression in business produced by the President's belligerent recommendation was at once removed.

The Report showed conclusively that the President's recommendation in regard to reprisals was premature, and unauthorized by the circumstances of the case; and that there had been a constant manifestation on the part of the Executive branch of the French Government of a disposition to carry the Treaty of indemnification into effect. The Committee expressed their agreement with the President, that the fulfilment of the Treaty should be insisted upon at all hazards; but they considered that a rash and precipitate course on our part should be sedulously avoided. They would not anticipate the possibility of a final breach by France of her solemn engagements. They limited themselves to a consideration of the posture of things as they then existed. At the same time, they observed that it could not be doubted that the United States were abundantly able to sustain themselves in any vicissitudes to which they might be exposed. The patriotism of the people had been, hitherto, equal to all emergencies, and if their courage and constancy, when they were young and comparatively weak, bore them safely through all past struggles, the hope might be confidently entertained now, when their numbers, their strength and their resources were greatly increased, that they would, whenever the occasion might arise, triumphantly maintain the honor, the rights and the interests of their country. The Committee concluded by recommending to the Senate the adoption of the following resolution:

"Resolved, That it is inexpedient at this time to pass any law vesting in the President authority for making reprisals upon French property, in the contingency of provision not being made for paying to the United States the indemnity stipulated by the Treaty of 1831, during the present session of the French Chambers."

On the 14th of January, Mr. Clay, pursuant to previous notice, called for the consideration of the Report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and its accompanying Resolution. It being expected that he would address the Senate, a large audience was in attendance, and, as soon as he was up, the other House was without a quorum. The question being upon agreeing to the resolution as reported, he spoke for nearly an hour, and his remarks were in the same moderate, magnanimous and truly American strain, which characterized his Report.

Mr. King, of Georgia, one of the Administration Members of the Committee on Foreign Relations, after bearing the strongest testimony to the candid and temperate character of Mr. Clay's Report, moved to give the Resolution such a modification as, without changing its substance, would obtain for it a unanimous vote. Mr. Clay accepted in part Mr. King's amendment, and also one that was offered by Mr. Webster; and the following resolution was at length UNANIMOUSLY PASSED by the Senate.

"Resolved, That it is inexpedient at present to

adopt any legislative measure in regard to the state of affairs between the United States and France."

The unanimous passage of this resolution, was a result as gratifying as it was unexpected; and its effect upon the French Chambers, in neutralizing the harsh language of the President, and hastening the execution of the Treaty was most auspicious. The praises of Congress and of the country, were liberally awarded to Mr. Clay for his judicious and conclusive Report in behalf of a pacific course.

The effect of the President's Message recommending reprisals and conveying an imputation upon the good faith of Louis Philippe, was such as might have been anticipated. The French King was justly offended. The French Minister was at once recalled from Washington, and a *Chargé des Affaires* substituted. Passports were tendered to our Minister at Paris. In consequence of these developments, Mr. Clay, on the last day of the Session, made another and a briefer Report from the Committee on Foreign Relations, in which the committee expressed the opinion, that the Senate ought to adhere to the Resolution, adopted the 14th of January, to await the result of another appeal to the French Chambers; and, in the mean time, to intimate no ulterior purpose, but to hold itself in reserve for whatever exigencies might arise. The Senate concurred in the advice of the Committee, who were then discharged from the further consideration of the subject.

On the 4th of February, 1835, Mr. Clay made a brilliant and impressive speech in the Senate upon the subject of a memorial, which he presented from certain Indians of the Cherokee tribe. The memorial set forth in eloquent and becoming terms the condition of the tribe, their grievances and their wants. It seemed, that of the remnant of this people then in Georgia, one portion were desirous of being aided to remove beyond the Mississippi, and the other wished to remain where they were, and to be removed from the rigid restrictions which the State of Georgia had imposed upon them. In his remarks, Mr. Clay eloquently alluded to the solemn treaties by which the possession of their lands had been secured to these Indians by our Government. The faith of the United States had been pledged that they should continue unmolested in the enjoyment of their hunting-grounds. In defiance of these sacred stipulations, Georgia had claimed jurisdiction over the tribe—had parceled out their lands and disposed of them by lottery—degraded the Cherokees to the condition of serfs—denied them all the privileges of freedom, and rendered their condition infinitely worse than that of the African Slave. It was the interest as well as the pride of the master to provide for the health and comfort of his slave; but what human being was there to care for these unfortunate Indians?

As Mr. Clay warmed in his remarks, and dwelt, more in sorrow than in anger, upon the wrongs and outrages perpetrated in Georgia upon the unoffending aborigines within her borders, many of his hearers were affected to tears, and he himself was obviously deeply moved. The occasion was rendered still more interesting by the presence of a Cherokee Chief and a female of the tribe, who seemed to listen to the orator with a painfully eager attention. In conclusion, Mr. Clay submitted a resolution directing the Committee on the Judiciary to inquire into

the expediency of making farther provision by law to enable Indian Tribes, to whom lands had been secured by treaty, to defend and maintain their rights to such lands in the Courts of the United States; also, a resolution directing the Committee on Indian Affairs to inquire into the expediency of setting apart a district of country, west of the Mississippi, for such of the Cherokee Nation as were disposed to emigrate, and for securing in perpetuity their peaceful enjoyment thereof to themselves and their descendants.

The oppressed Aboriginal Tribes have always found in Mr. Clay a friend and a champion. Although coming from a State which, in consequence of the numerous Indian massacres of which it has been the theatre, has received the appellation of "the dark and bloody ground," he has never suffered any unphilosophical prejudice against the unfortunate Red Men to blind his sense of justice or check the promptings of humanity. He has constantly been among the most active vindicators of their cause—the most efficient advocates of a liberal policy towards them.

To General Jackson's administration we are indebted for the system which makes the offices of the Federal Government the rewards of political partisanship, and proscribes all incumbents who may entertain opinions at variance with those of the Executive. The Government of the United States disposes of an annual patronage of nearly forty millions of dollars. By the corrupt use of this immense fund, the Jackson dynasty sustained and perpetuated itself in spite of the People. Here was the secret of its strength. Commit what violence, outrage what principle, assail what interests he might, President Jackson threw himself back upon his patronage and found protection. The patronage of the Press, the patronage of the Post Office, the patronage of the Custom House, with its salaries, commissions and fees—the patronage of the Land Office, with its opportunities of successful speculation—these formed the stronghold and citadel of corrupt power.

On the eighteenth of February, 1835, Mr. Clay addressed the Senate in support of the bill for the Abatement of Executive Patronage. His speech contains a striking exposition of the evils resulting from the selfish and despotic exercise, on the part of the Chief Magistrate, of the appointing and removing power; and is pervaded by that truly democratic spirit which has characterized all the public acts of the author.

A bill making an appropriation for the Cumberland Road was discussed in the Senate early in February. Mr. Clay spoke in favor of the appropriation, but adversely to the policy of surrendering the Road to the States through which it runs.

CHAPTER XV.

Settlement of our French Affairs—Mr. Clay's Land Bill—His Speech—Passage of the Bill in the Senate—Abolition Petitions—Mr. Clay vindicates the Right of Petition—The Deposit Banks—Prediction—Independence of Texas—Various questions—Return to Kentucky—Re-elected Senator in 1836—State of the Country in 1836 and 1837—A contrast—Administration majority in the Senate—Mr. Calhoun's Land Bill—Opposition of Mr. Clay—Tariff—His two Compromises—The Specie Circular—His Rescission—Benton's Expunging Resolution—Miscellaneous.

OUR affairs with France occupied a considerable portion of President Jackson's Message to the Twenty-Fourth Congress at its first session. Mr. Clay was again placed at the head of the Committee on Foreign Relations; and on the eleventh of January, 1836, he introduced a resolution to the Senate, calling upon the President for information with regard to our affairs with France, and for the communication of certain overtures made by the French Government. An additional resolution was presented by him two or three weeks afterward, calling for the communication of the exposé which accompanied the French Bill of Indemnity of the 27th of April, 1835; and also, copies of certain notes which passed between the Duc de Broglie and our Charge, Mr. Barton; together with those addressed by our Minister, Mr. Livingston, to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, or to the Secretary of State of the United States. These resolutions were adopted, with amendments.

On the eighth of February, 1836, a Message from the President was received, announcing that the Government of Great Britain had offered its mediation for the adjustment of the dispute between the United States and France. The Message was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs; and on the twenty-second of February, a correspondence between the Secretary of State and Mr. Bankhead, on the subject of British mediation, was submitted. This gave occasion for some remarks from Mr. Clay, who said that he could not withhold the expression of his congratulation to the Senate, for the agency it had in producing the happy termination of our difficulties with France. If the Senate had not, by its unanimous vote of last September, declared that it was inexpedient to adopt any legislative action upon the subject of our relations with France; if it had yielded to the recommendations of the Executive in ordering reprisals against that power, it could not be doubted but that war would have existed at that moment in its most serious state.

Mr. Clay renewed his exertions in behalf of his Land Bill during this session. On the fourteenth of April, it was taken up in the Senate as the special order, and discussed nearly every day for a period of two weeks, during which he was frequently called upon to defend and explain its provisions. His speech of April 26th is remarkable for the vigor of its arguments and the force of its appeals. Of this effort, the National Intelligencer said: "We thought, 'after hearing the able and comprehensive arguments of Messrs. Ewing, Southard and White, in favor of this beneficent measure, that the subject was exhausted, that, at any rate, but little new could be urged in its defence. Mr. Clay, however, in one of the most luminous and forcible arguments which we have ever heard him deliver, placed the subject in new lights, and gave to it new

'claims to favor. The whole train of his reasoning appeared to us a series of demonstrations.'"

The Land Bill, essentially the same as that vetoed by General Jackson, passed the Senate the fourth of May, 1836, by a vote of twenty-five to twenty; and was sent to the House. But the influence of the Executive was too potent here yet to admit of the passage of a measure which, though approved by the majority, was opposed by the President because of its having originated with Mr. Clay.

The question of the right of petition came before the Senate early in the session. On the 11th of January, Mr. Buchanan presented a memorial from a religious Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, requesting Congress to abolish Slavery and the Slave Trade in the District of Columbia. He moved that the Memorial should be read, and the prayer of the Memorialists be rejected. Mr. Calhoun demanded that the question should be first taken whether the petition be received or not; and a debate, which was prolonged at various intervals till the 9th of March sprang up on this preliminary question. Before the question was taken, Mr. Clay briefly explained his views. On the subject of the right of Congress to abolish Slavery in the District, he was inclined to think, and candor required the avowal, that the *right did exist*; though he should take a future opportunity of expressing his views in opposition to the expediency of the exercise of that power. He expressed his disapprobation of the motion to receive and immediately reject, made by the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan.) He thought that the right of petition required of the servants of the people to examine, deliberate and decide, either to grant or refuse the prayer of a petition, giving the reasons for such decision; and that such was the best mode of putting an end to the agitation of the public on the subject.

The question "shall the petition be received?" being taken, was decided in the affirmative—yeas, 36; nays, 10.

Mr. Clay then offered an amendment to Mr. Buchanan's motion to reject, in which amendment the principal reason why the prayer of the Memorialists could not be granted are succinctly given. The amendment not meeting the views of some of his Southern friends was subsequently withdrawn by Mr. Clay, who maintained, however, that he could not assent that Congress had no Constitutional power to legislate on the prayer of the petition. The subject was at length laid on the table by a vote of twenty-four to twenty; but the friends of the *sacred, unqualified right of petition* should not forget that Mr. Clay has ever upheld their cause with his best energies and his warmest zeal.

A report from the Secretary of the Treasury, showing the condition of the Deposit Banks, came before the Senate for consideration the 17th of March, 1836. Mr. Clay forcibly depicted on this occasion the total insecurity of the vast public treasure in the keeping of these Banks. What was then prophecy became history soon afterwards. "Suppose," said he, "a great deficiency of southern crops, or any other crisis creating a necessity for the exportation of specie to Europe, instead of the ordinary shipments. *These Banks would be compelled to call in their issues. This would compel other Banks to call in, in like manner, and a panic and general want of*

'confidence would ensue. Then what would become of the public money?' It is unnecessary to point to the fulfilment of these predictions. Soon after the deposits were removed to the Pet Banks, they became the basis of vast land speculations, into which all who could obtain a share of the Government money, plunged at once heels over head; Postmasters, Custom-House officers, Navy Agents, Pet Bank Directors, Cashiers and Presidents, District Attorneys, Government Printers, Secretaries of State, Postmasters General, Attorneys General, President's Secretaries, and all the innumerable stipendiaries of the Administration. It was this wild speculation, fostered and conducted by the facilities of the Deposit Banks, that filled the Treasury with unavailable funds. The experiment terminated, as Mr. Clay prophesied it would terminate, in universal bankruptcy.

On the 8th of June, Mr. Clay, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, introduced a report with a resolution, for recognizing the Independence of Texas whenever satisfactory information should be received, that it had a civil Government in successful operation. Mr. Preston expressed a hope that the Executive was by that time in possession of such information; as would enable the Senate to adopt stronger measures than that recommended by the Committee; and he submitted a resolution calling on the President for such information. Mr. Clay wished that the resolution might be taken up and acted on; as he would be extremely glad to receive information that would authorize stronger measures in favor of Texas. The report of the Committee was concurred in; and Mr. Preston's resolution adopted. The result of the call upon the President and of the discussions that ensued, was the unanimous adoption, by the Senate, on the first of July, of the resolution reported by Mr. Clay, with an amendment by Mr. Preston adding a clause expressing the satisfaction of the Senate, at the President's having taken measures for obtaining accurate information as to the civil, military and political condition of Texas. Similar resolutions passed the House the 4th of July.

Mr. Clay spoke on a variety of questions, in addition to those we have alluded to, during the session of 1834-5; on the motion to admit the Senators from Michigan on the floor, and the recognition of that clause in the Constitution of Michigan, which he conceived to give to aliens the right to vote; on the resolution of Mr. Calhoun to inquire into the expediency of such a reduction of duties as would not affect the Manufacturing interest; on the Fortification Bill, &c. Congress adjourned the fourth of July, 1836.

On his return to Kentucky a dinner was given to Mr. Clay by his fellow-citizens of Woodford County. During his absence from home, he had experienced heavy afflictions in the death of a beloved daughter and of his only sister. On rising to speak, he was so overcome by the recollection of these losses, added to an allusion which had been made to the remains of his mother being buried in Woodford, that he was obliged to resume his seat. He soon rallied, however, and addressed the company for about two hours in an animated and powerful strain. He reviewed the recent acts of the Administration—their constant tampering with the currency—the Treas-

ury Order, directing that all payments for lands should be made in specie—the injustice practised towards the Indian tribes—and the disgracefully protracted Seminole War. In conclusion, Mr. Clay alluded to his intended retirement from the Senate of the United States—an intention, which, at that time, he fondly cherished.

So fixed was his wish to withdraw from public life, that he had, at one period, in 1836, made up his mind to resign. It is certain, that he looked forward with confidence to declining a reelection; and he expressed a hope at the Woodford dinner, that the State would turn its attention to some other citizen.

In the autumn of 1836, Mr. Clay narrowly escaped a violent death. He was riding on horseback in one of his fields, surveying his cattle, when a furious bull, maddened from some cause or other, rushed towards him, and plunging his horns with tremendous force into the horse on which Mr. Clay was seated, killed the poor animal on the spot. The distinguished rider was thrown to the distance of several feet from his horse, and, though somewhat hurt by the fall, escaped without material injury.

We have already given an exposition of Mr. Clay's views in behalf of Colonization. In 1836, he was unanimously elected President of the American Colonization Society in the room of the illustrious Ex-President Madison, deceased. He accepted the appointment.

During the winter of 1836, Mr. Clay was reelected a Senator from Kentucky for six years from the ensuing fourth of March. The vote stood: for Henry Clay 76; for James Guthrie, the Administration candidate, 54. Eight members were absent, four of whom, it is said, would have voted for Mr. Clay.

The state of the Republic, toward the termination of General Jackson's second Presidential term, is yet vividly in the recollection of all our citizens. He had found the country, in 1829, in a condition of unexampled prosperity. The Government was administered with economy strictly republican. Congress was the dominant power in the land. Commerce, Manufactures, Agriculture, flourished. The Banking System was in a state of remarkable soundness. There was no disposition to multiply local Banks. There was neither temptation nor ability for these Banks to expand their issues. The failure of a Bank was an occurrence as unusual as an earthquake. Labor was sure of employment, and sure of its reward. There were few brokers, usurers and money-lenders by profession. There were no speculators by profession. There were no immense operations in fancy stocks and land schemes. There was but one way of growing rich—hard labor—assiduous industry—early rising—late retiring—and anxious, devoted and persevering attention to business. Our habits, as a people, were simple and democratic. Our FOREIGN CREDIT WAS WITHOUT A STAIN. The debts which we contracted abroad were such as we could pay—and paid they were with scrupulous and honorable punctuality. OUR CURRENCY WAS, WITHOUT EXCEPTION, THE MOST PERFECT ON THE FACE OF THE GLOBE. No man ever lost a cent by it. It was abundant, safe, and well accredited in every part of the world. All pecuniary operations of Trade and Commerce were conducted with the most wonderful facility and regularity

Gold and silver were in free circulation, and there was at all times an abundant supply of the smaller coins. Millions on millions of exchanges were negotiated in every quarter of the country, and at an average rate of one-half or one per cent.—a charge merely nominal in comparison with the subsequent rates. The whole machinery of Society, Government, Trade and Currency was in a state as nearly approaching perfection as human wisdom and ingenuity could compass.

Such was the condition of the Republic in 1829. Then the destroyer came—and all was blasted. For eight years he managed the affairs of the country in his own way; and HIS WILL WAS THE LAW OF THE LAND.

During those eight years, what a change came over our affairs! The whole machinery of Currency, Trade and Government was deranged. The land was flooded with three or four hundred millions of irredeemable paper. The smaller coins disappeared. Specie payments were universally suspended; and gold and silver were no more a currency than amethysts and diamonds. In trade, every thing ran into speculation. Banks sprang up like mushrooms on every side. Any two men who could write their names so as to sign and endorse a piece of paper, were enabled to procure 'facilities,' which generally turned out to be facilities for their own destruction. Brokers, usurers, money-lenders, speculators multiplied till their name was Legion. Every thing was unnaturally distended, until, at length, trade came to a dead stand. No one wanted to buy, and every body was afraid to sell. There was an utter stagnation, paralysis, extinction, of business. Thousands on thousands declared themselves individually bankrupt. As a nation, we were notoriously and miserably bankrupt—and we had hardly foreign credit enough to make it either safe or decent for any American to cross the Atlantic.

In Government, a revolution no less pernicious was accomplished. Congress became a mere stepping-stone to lucrative appointments, and the session was merely a convenient *reunion* of its Members for the better arrangement of their land speculations, and the more convenient distribution of the Government Deposits among the most accommodating Banks. The heart of our Government was rotten to its core—and, like our Currency and our Trade, it presented but a miserable contrast to the condition of 1829. And all these revolutions were brought about by the uncontrolled ascendancy of Jacksonism, and by no other agency under heaven!

Notwithstanding these deplorable issues, the end was not yet. The Jackson dynasty was to be perpetuated still another term in the hands of him who was proud to follow in the footsteps of his "illustrious predecessor." The Presidential Election of 1836 terminated in the choice of Martin Van Buren. But we are anticipating matters. We have yet the short Session of Congress of 1836-7 to review, before we take leave of the "Hero of New-Orleans."

The Administration had now a majority in the Senate. That noble phalanx of Whigs, who had so undauntedly withstood the usurpations of the Executive, could now only operate as a minority. One of the first acts of Mr. Clay was to re-introduce his Land Bill. On the 19th of December, in pur-

sue of previous notice, he presented it with modifications suited to the changes in Public Affairs. It was read twice and referred to the Committee on Public Lands,—at the head of which was Mr. Walker of Mississippi, who, on the 3d of January, gave notice that he was instructed by the Committee to move for the *indefinite postponement* of the bill, when it should come up for consideration. Some days afterward, Mr. Walker introduced his bill to limit the sales of the Public Lands, except to actual settlers, and in limited quantities; and on the 9th of February, 1837, Mr. Calhoun's extraordinary bill, nominally *selling*, but in reality *giving* to the new States *all the Public Domain*, came before the Senate.

Mr. Clay took ground at once against this scheme. He said that four or five years before, contrary to his earnest desire, this subject of the Public Lands was forced upon him, and he had, with great labor, devised a plan fraught with equity to all the States. It received the votes of a majority of both Houses, and was rejected by the President. He had always considered the Public Domain a sacred trust for the country and for posterity. He was opposed to any measure giving away this property for the benefit of speculators; and he was therefore opposed to this bill, as well as to the other (Mr. Walker's) before the Senate. He had hitherto labored in vain—but he should continue to oppose all these schemes for robbing the old States of their rightful possessions. He besought the Senate to abstain from these appeals to the cupidity of the new States from party inducements; and he appealed to the Senator from South Carolina whether, if he offered them higher and better boons than the party in power, he did not risk the imputation of being actuated by such inducements.

Fortunately for the country, the rash project of Mr. Calhoun did not reach the maturity of a third reading.

On the 25th of February, the bill from the Committee on Finance to alter and amend the several acts imposing duties on imposts being before the Senate, Mr. Clay spoke against the measure at some length. His principal objection arose from what he conceived to be the interference of some of the provisions of the bill with the Compromise Act of 1833. In the course of his remarks, he gave an interesting account of his own connection with that important measure.

He then went on to draw a striking parallel between the Compromise Act of 1833 as to the Protective System, and that other Compromise Act which settled the much agitated Missouri Question, and by which the latitude of 36 degrees 30 minutes was established as the extreme boundary for the existence of Slavery in that State. Had not Congress a right to repeal that law? But what would those Southern gentlemen, who now so strenuously urged a violation of our implied faith in regard to the act of '33, say if a measure like that should be attempted?

Mr. Clay concluded with a motion to re-commit the bill for the reduction of duties to the Committee on Finance, with instructions to strike out all those articles comprised in the bill, which then paid a duty of 20 per cent, and upwards, embraced in the Compromise Act. The motion was lost—25 Nays to 24

Yeas; and the bill was the same day passed by a vote of 27 to 18.

Early in the Session, Mr. Ewing had introduced a Joint Resolution rescinding the Treasury order by which all payments for Public Lands were to be made in specie. On the 11th of January, Mr. Clay addressed the Senate in a speech replete with argument and facts in support of the Resolution, and in opposition to an amendment, which had been offered by Mr. Rives. The Resolution was referred to the Committee on Public Lands, who instructed their Chairman to lay it on the table when it should come up. On the 18th of January, a bill rescinding the Specie Circular was reported by Mr. Walker. It subsequently passed the Senate, with some slight amendments, by a vote of 41 to 5; and received the sanction of the other House; but notwithstanding this fact, and the additional well-known fact, that the order had been originally promulgated in defiance of the opinion of Congress and the wishes of the people, the bill, "instead of being returned to the House in which it originated, according to the requirement of the Constitution, was sent to one of the pigeon-holes of the Department of State, to be filed away with an opinion of a convenient Attorney-General, always ready to prepare one in support of Executive encroachment."

Mr. Van Buren manifested the same contempt for the will of the people, expressed by Congress, as had been shown by his "illustrious predecessor," and refused to interfere until the Specie Circular repealed itself in the catastrophe of an universal suspension.

On the 12th of January, a Resolution, offered by Mr. Benton, to *expunge* from the journals of the Senate for 1833-4, Mr. Clay's Resolution censuring President Jackson for his unauthorized Removal of the Public Deposits came before the Senate for consideration; and on the 16th Mr. Clay discussed the question at considerable length. His speech was in a strain of mingled sarcasm and indignant invective, which made the subservient majority writhe under its scorching power. Never was a measure placed in a more contemptible light than was the *expunging* proposal by Mr. Clay. Those who heard him, can never forget the look and tone, varying from an expression of majestic scorn to one of good-humored satire, with which he gave utterance to the following eloquent passages:

"What patriotic purpose is to be accomplished by this expunging Resolution? Can you make that not to be which has been? Can you eradicate from memory and from history the fact that in March, 1834, a majority of the Senate of the United States passed the Resolution which excites your enmity? Is it your vain and wicked object to arrogate to yourself that power of annihilating the past which has been denied to Omnipotence itself? Do you intend to thrust your hands into our hearts and to pluck out the deeply-rooted convictions which are there? Or is it your design merely to stigmatize us? You cannot stigmatize US:

"'Ne'er yet did base dishonor blur our name.

"Standing securely upon our conscious rectitude, and bearing aloft the shield of the Constitution of our Country, your puny efforts are impotent, and we defy all your power. Put the majority of 1834 in one scale, and that by which this Expunging Resolution is to be carried in the other, and let Truth and Justice, in Heaven above, and on earth below, and liberty and patriotism, decide the preponderance.

"What patriotic purpose is to be accomplished by this expunging resolution? Is it to appease the wrath and to heal the wounded pride of the Chief Magistrate? If he be really the hero that his friends represent him he must despise all mean condescension, all grovelling sycophancy, all self-degradation, and self-abasement. He would reject, with scorn and contempt as unworthy of his fame, your black scratches, and your baby lines in the fair records of his country."

The Expunging Resolution was passed; but no one will envy the immortality, to which the "knights of the black lines" have been consigned.

Mr. Clay addressed the Senate upon several other important questions during the session of 1836-7.—Among them were that upon the Fortification Bill, which was returned to the Senate after the House had insisted on the clause for a second Distribution of the Surplus Revenue; and the Resolution from the Committee on Foreign Relations, on the subject of our affairs with Mexico.

CHAPTER XVI.

Presidential Campaign of 1836—Mr. Clay declines being a Candidate—Result—Mr. Van Buren's Policy—A Retrospect—Democratic Doctrine—Issue of the "Experiment"—The Extra Session—Mr. Van Buren's Message—The Sub-Treasury Scheme—Indications of a Split in the House—Discussion of the Sub-Treasury Bill—Mr. Clay's Speeches—His Resolution in relation to a Bank—Treasury Notes—Session of 1837-8—Defeat of the Sub-Treasury Measure—Mr. Clay's Review of the Financial Projects of the Administration—Various subjects—His outline of a plan for a National Bank—Mr. Clay's course on the Abolition Question—His visit to New-York in the Summer of 1838—Cordial Reception, by the People, of the "Man of the People."

MR. CLAY had uniformly discouraged the attempts of his friends to induce him to become a candidate for the Presidency in the campaign of 1836. He saw the unhappy diversity in the ranks of the Opposition; and he saw, perhaps, the inevitable ability of the Jackson dynasty to perpetuate itself in the elevation of Mr. Van Buren. So potent had the Executive become, through usurpation and the abuse of patronage!

On the eighth of February, that being the day appointed by statute for opening the Electoral Returns for the Presidency and Vice Presidency of the United States, the result was proclaimed in the presence of both Houses of Congress. The following was ascertained to be the state of the vote:

For President.	Vice President.
Van Buren.....170	Johnson.....147
Harrison.....73	Granger.....77
White.....26	Tyler.....47
Webster.....14	Smith.....23
Mangum.....11	
294	294

It was then declared that it appeared that Martin Van Buren had been duly elected President of the United States, for four years from the 4th of March, 1837; and that no person had a majority of all the votes for the Vice Presidency, and that Mr. Johnson and Mr. Granger had the largest number of votes of all the candidates. Mr. Johnson was afterward duly chosen.

It had been hoped by many that under Mr. Van Buren a less destructive policy would be adopted than that which had signalized the *reign* of the "Hero of New-Orleans." For the last eight years the country had been governed by Executive edicts. Congress had always been disposed to do right, but it had been thwarted by a domineering and usurping Executive. The will of the People, constitutionally

avowed, had been constantly defeated by the impetuous and impetuous objections of *one* fallible and passionate old man.

Congress passed Mr. Clay's Land Bill; but the Executive destroyed it.

Congress said that the Deposits were safe in the Bank of the United States; the Executive removed them.

Congress refused to issue a Specie Circular; it was issued by the Executive.

Congress rescinded the Specie Circular; and the Executive defeated that rescission.

Now the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson, as adopted and always acted upon by Henry Clay, is, that *THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY, HONESTLY EXPRESSED, SHALL GIVE LAW*. But Congress had no influence in the Government during the pernicious ascendancy of Jacksonism. It came together to pass appropriation bills, and register the decrees of the Chief Magistrate. The noble majority in the Senate, for a while, prevented much mischief, but they could originate and prosecute no settled policy, in consequence of the Administration majority in the other branch. We lived literally under Executive Legislation. Where the President could not veto, he could do some act of violence, and compel Congress either to leave the country without law or to adapt its legislation to the existing exigencies. Thus he could not prevail on Congress to remove the Deposits—but when they were removed, to “furnish an instrument of power to himself and of plunder to his partisans”—Congress was compelled either to leave them without law, or to pass laws for the regulation of new depositions.

The hopes that had been entertained of a reform under Mr. Van Buren proved fallacious; but his attempt to march in the “seven-leagued boots” of his predecessor speedily resulted in a ridiculous failure. He was tripped up at the very start.

The disastrous condition in which the country was left by the “hero of New-Orleans,” whose “humble efforts” to improve the Currency had resulted in the universal prostration of business, and a suspension of specie payments, called upon his successor in the Presidential chair for some immediate measure of relief. On the 15th of May, 1837, Mr. Van Buren issued his Proclamation ordering an extraordinary session of Congress, to commence the first Monday in September. In accordance with that Proclamation, both Houses of Congress met at the Capitol on the day appointed; and the Message recommending the *SUB-TREASURY SYSTEM* for the deposit, transfer and disbursement of the Public Revenue, was transmitted by the President. The consequence was an instantaneous loss of his majority in the House of Representatives.

In the election of Speaker, at the commencement of the Extra Session, 224 members voted, making 113 necessary to a choice. Mr. Polk received 116 votes, and was elected. Then came the Sub-Treasury Message, and the vote on the election of Printer indicated a sudden disaffection in the ranks, and a general breaking up of the Administration party. On the twelfth and final balloting, Thomas Allen, the Editor of the *Madisonian*, was elected over the Van Buren candidates, Blair and Rives. A decided majority of the House had been elected as friends of Mr. Van Buren; but so alarming seemed his

Sub-Treasury plan, which was, in other words, a scheme for placing the Public Purse under the control of the President, that he was defeated in the very first party vote after the election of Speaker.

The leading topic of the session was of course the new Sub-Treasury project; and it was discussed in the Senate with great ability on both sides. By this bill, the Treasury of the United States the Treasurers of the Mint and its Branches, Collectors, Receivers, Postmasters, and other office-holders, were commissioned to receive in specie and keep, subject to the draft of the proper Department, all public moneys coming into their hands, instead of depositing them, as heretofore, in Banks. Among the earliest and most prominent advocates of this measure was Mr. Calhoun, who suddenly found himself one of the leaders of a party, which for the last five or six years he had been denouncing as the most corrupt that had ever cursed a country.

The bill was taken up in the Senate the 20th September; and on the 25th, Mr. Clay spoke in opposition to this audacious and Anti-Republican scheme. In this admirable speech he went at length into an examination of the causes that had led to the existing disastrous state of public affairs. To the financial experiments of General Jackson, he traced back unerringly the consequent inflation of the currency—the wild speculations, which had risen to their height when they began to be checked by the preparations of the Local Banks, necessary to meet the Deposit Law of June, 1836—the final suspension of specie payments—and all the disorders in the Currency, Commerce and general business of the country, that ensued. He then gave his objections to the scheme before the Senate. It proposed one Currency for the Government and another for the people. As well might it be attempted to make the Government breathe a different air, be lit and warmed by a different sun from the People! A hard-money Government and a paper-money People! A Government, an official corps—the servants of the People—glittering in gold, and the People themselves, their masters, buried in ruin, and surrounded by rags! By the proposed substitution of an exclusive metallic Currency for the mixed medium, all property would be reduced in value to one-third of its present nominal amount; and every debtor would in effect have to pay three times as much as he had contracted for. Then there was the insecurity of the system—the liability to favoritism in the fiscal negotiations—the fearful increase of Executive patronage—the absolute and complete union of the Purse and the Sword in the hands of the President! All these objections were most powerfully elucidated and enforced by Mr. Clay.

He then proceeded to declare what he believed to be the only efficient measure for restoring a sound and uniform Currency, which was a United States Bank, established under such restrictions, as the lights of recent experience might suggest. “But,” said Mr. Clay, “if a National Bank be established, its stability and its utility will depend upon the general conviction which is felt of its necessity. *And until such a conviction is deeply impressed upon the People, and clearly manifested by them, it would, in my judgment, be unwise even to propose a Bank.*”

On the 4th of October the Sub-Treasury Bill, af

ter undergoing various amendments, was read a third time and passed by the Senate by a vote of 25 to 20. It was taken up in the House on the 10th of October, and, on the 14th, laid on the table by a vote of 120 to 107.

The defeat of this measure in the teeth of the Executive recommendation, in spite of Executive blandishment and terrors—the triumph of the majority without doors over the majority within, and of both over patronage and power—revived the dying hopes of the patriot and infused new life into our Constitution. The sceptre of misrule had crumbled. The dynasty, which for nearly nine years had misruled the country, received on that occasion its immedicable wound.

A resolution reported by Mr. Wright from the Committee on Finance, in relation to the petitions for a National Bank, was called up in the Senate the 26th of September. The resolution declared that the prayer of the memorialists ought not to be granted. In his remarks upon this subject, Mr. Clay alluded to the case in which Mr. Randolph moved in the House of Representatives a similar negative resolution—"That it is inexpedient to declare war against Great Britain." Mr. Clay said, that if Mr. W. persisted in his resolution, he should move to strike out all after the word *Resolved*, and substitute: "that it will be expedient to establish a Bank of the United States *whenever it shall be manifest that a clear majority of the People of the United States desire such an Institution.*" The motion was subsequently made and lost; and Mr. Wright's resolution was adopted. The party then in power seem to have had but little reverence for the wishes of a "clear majority of the people of the United States."

The Extra Session lasted six weeks—Congress adjourning on the morning of the 16th of October. The measure, on which the hopes and fate of the Administration were staked, had been defeated.

The Sub-Treasury project came again before the Twenty-Fifth Congress, at their Second Session. The 19th of February, 1833, Mr. Clay once more addressed the Senate in opposition to the measure. This Speech is one of the longest and ablest ever delivered by him. At the commencement he stated certain propositions, which he would proceed to demonstrate. He contended—

1st. That it was the deliberate purpose and fixed design of the late Administration to establish a Government—a Treasury Bank—to be administered and controlled by the Executive Department.

2d. That, with that view, and to that end, it was its aim and intention to overthrow the whole Banking System, as existing in the United States when the Administration came into power, beginning with the Bank of the United States, and ending with the State Banks.

3d. That the attack was first confined, from considerations of policy, to the Bank of the United States; but that, after its overthrow was accomplished, it was then directed, and had since been continued, against the State Banks.

4th. That the present Administration, by its acknowledgements, emanating from the highest and most authentic source, had succeeded to the principles, plans and policy of the preceding Administration, and stood solemnly pledged to complete and perfect them. And,

5th. That the bill under consideration was intended to execute the pledge, by establishing, upon the ruins

of the late Bank of the United States, and the State Banks, a Government Bank, to be managed and controlled by the Treasury Department, acting under the commands of the President of the United States.

The manner in which Mr. Clay proceeded to sustain these charges against the Administration was extremely impressive. That he made out his case satisfactorily to the People, subsequent events fully demonstrated.

Mr. Clay appears to have addressed the Senate on every question of moment that claimed its attention during the Session of 1837-8; on the reception of petitions for the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia—the bill to restrain the issuing of small notes in the District—the disturbances on the Northern frontier, and the attack on the Caroline, an act which he denounced in the most unmeasured terms—the bill to grant preëmption rights to settlers on the Public Lands—the bill to establish the Oregon Territory—in favor of the bill to prohibit the giving or accepting a challenge to fight a duel in the District of Columbia—against the bill providing for the graduation and reduction of the price of the Public Lands—and on many other subjects of hardly inferior interest.

A Joint Resolution, offered by him on the 30th of April, providing for the reception of the notes of sound Banks in the collection of the Revenue, was adopted by the Senate, with some amendments, the 29th of May. It was in effect a repeal of the Specie Circular.

In the course of the Session Mr. Clay took occasion, in presenting a petition for the establishment of a United States Bank, to make known his own views in regard to such an institution. Some of the conditions and restrictions, under which it seemed to him suitable to establish such a Bank, were briefly given in the following sketch:

1. The capital not to be extravagantly large, but, at the same time, amply sufficient to enable it to perform the needful financial duties for the Government; to supply a general currency of uniform value throughout the Union; and to facilitate, as high as practicable, the equalization of Domestic Exchange. He supposed that about fifty millions would answer all those purposes. The Stock might be divided between the General Government, the States, according to their federal population, and individual subscribers; the portion assigned to the latter to be distributed at auction or by private subscription.

2. The Corporation to receive such an organization as to blend, in fair proportions, public and private control, and combining public and private interests; and, in order to exclude the possibility of the exercise of any foreign influence, non-resident foreigners to be prohibited not only from any share in the administration of the Corporation, but from holding, directly or indirectly, any portion of its stock. The Bank would thus be in its origin, and continue throughout its whole existence, a genuine American Institution.

3. An adequate portion of the capital to be set apart in productive stocks, and placed in permanent security, beyond the reach of the corporation (with the exception of the accruing profits on those stocks) sufficient to pay promptly, in any contingency, the amount of all such paper, under whatever form, that the Bank shall put forth as a part of the general circulation. The bill or note holders, in other words, the mass of the community, ought to be protected against the possibility of the failure or the suspension of the Bank. The supply of the circulating medium of a country is that faculty of a

Bank, the property or the exercise of which may be most controverted. The dealings with a Bank of those who obtain discounts, or make deposits, are voluntary and mutually advantageous; and they are comparatively few in number. But the reception of what is issued and used as a part of the circulating medium of the country, is scarcely a voluntary act; and thousands take it who have no other concern whatever with the Bank. The *many* ought to be guarded and secured by the care of the legislative authority; the vigilance of the *few* will secure themselves against loss.

4. Perfect publicity as to the state of the Bank at all times, including, besides the usual heads of information, the names of every debtor to the Bank, whether as drawer, endorser or surety, periodically exhibited, and open to public inspection; or, if that should be found inconvenient, the right to be secured to any citizen to ascertain at the Bank the nature and extent of the responsibility of any of its customers. There is no necessity to to throw any veil of secrecy around the ordinary transactions of a Bank. Publicity will increase responsibility, repress favoritism, insure the negotiation of good paper, and, when individual insolvency unfortunately occurs, will deprive the Bank of undue advantages now enjoyed by Banks practically in the distribution of the effects of the insolvent.

5. A limitation of the dividends so as not to authorize more than — per cent to be struck. This will check undue expansions in the medium, and restrain improper extension of business in the administration of the Bank.

6. A prospective reduction in the rate of interest, so as to restrict the Bank to six per cent simply, or, if practicable, to only five per cent. The reduction may be effected by forbearing to exact any bonus, or, when the profits are likely to exceed the prescribed limit of the dividends, by requiring the rates of interest shall be so lowered as that they shall not pass that limit.

7. A restriction upon the premium demanded upon post notes and checks used for remittances, so that the maximum should not be more than, say one and a half per cent between any two of the remotest points in the Union. Although it may not be practicable to regulate Foreign Exchange, depending as it does upon commercial causes not within the control of any one government, it is otherwise with regard to Domestic Exchange.

8. Every practicable provision against the exercise of improper influence, on the part of the Executive, upon the Bank, and, on the part of the Bank, upon the elections of the country. The people entertain a just jealousy against the danger of any interference of a Bank with the elections of a country, and every precaution ought to be taken strictly to guard against it.

This was a brief outline of such a Bank as Mr. Clay thought would, if established, conduce greatly to the prosperity of the country. Its wise and provident restrictions would seem to preclude all those popular objections which generally apply to banks. With regard to the constitutionality of a National Bank, Mr. Clay said, that forty years of acquiescence by the people—the maintenance of the power by Washington, the Father of his Country; by Madison, the Father of the Constitution; and by Marshall, the Father of the Judiciary, ought to be precedents sufficient in its favor.

The Abolition question was agitated in the Senate during the last Session of the 25th Congress. Mr. Clay had been urged by many of his friends to refrain from speaking on the subject. It was represented to him as impolitic, superfluous, and likely to interfere with his Presidential prospects. Such arguments could have no weight with him.

His whole course upon this perilous question has been that of the honest, upright, practical and consistent statesman, the true philanthropist, the sagacious and devoted patriot. When Mr. Calhoun introduced, in the Session of 1835-6, his bill to give Postmasters and their Deputies a power of inspection and *espionage* over the Mails—the bill which was passed to its third reading by the casting vote of Martin Van Buren—it met with the prompt and decided condemnation of Mr. Clay. No man has more vigilantly watched the sacred Right of Petition than Mr. Clay. He has condemned on all occasions the refusal of the Senate to receive petitions. His speech of February, 1839, yields to the Abolitionists all that they have a right to demand, and is at the same time so liberal in its doctrines as to disarm the ultraism of Southern hostility. Mr. Calhoun himself was compelled to admit his acquiescence in the soundness of its doctrines and the security which their adoption would promise to the Union. The enemies of Mr. Clay denounced this movement on the Abolition question as an effort to achieve popularity. They reasoned from the inevitable result, to an unworthy inducement. To impute unworthy motives to Mr. Clay because of such a result was to impeach the purity of all public action, and to confine the statesman, who would preserve his political reputation, to the advocacy of unwise and unpopular measures. Popularity *did* follow the promulgation of such sentiments as are contained in the speech of Mr. Clay—the popularity which all good men desire—the popularity of which all great men may be proud—the popularity based upon gratitude for distinguished service, admiration for commanding eloquence, and the eternal sympathies of the PEOPLE with the PATRIOT.

In the summer of 1839, Mr. Clay visited Buffalo, and passing into Canada, made an excursion to Montreal and Quebec. Returning, he visited the city of New-York. He had the previous summer been invited, at an enthusiastic meeting of his friends at Masonic Hall, to visit the city, but had then been unable to comply with their invitation. His reception at the period to which we now refer, was one of the most brilliant ever extended to a public man. Early in the afternoon he was landed at the foot of Hammond-street, Greenwich, from the steamboat *James Madison*, attended by a large number of citizens. An immense multitude was assembled to greet his arrival, and, as he stepped on the wharf, the air was rent with acclamations from a myriad of voices. The day was most propitious. At Greenwich, a procession was formed headed by marshals, after whom came a numerous cavalcade. A band of music preceded the open barouche of Mr. Clay, and a vast concourse of citizens followed in carriages. Everything in the city, in the shape of a four-wheeled vehicle was in attendance, and tens of thousands of citizens followed on foot. When the head of the procession reached the Astor House, the rear had not yet formed in line. Through the whole extent from the point of landing, through Hudson-street, up Fourteenth-street to Union Place, and down Broadway to the Park, a distance of nearly three miles, it was at one and the same time a dense moving mass of horsemen, carriages, carmen and citizens. Every window on either side of the way was occupied, and acclamations from every house, and

the waving of handkerchiefs, and cordial salutations, greeted the illustrious Statesman as he passed. At Constitution Hall, at Masonic Hall, and at every place of public resort and amusement, flags were displayed, and bands of music were stationed to hail his approach.

As he reached the Park, the tens of thousands who thronged the grounds, the windows and roofs of the surrounding edifices, the adjacent streets, and the large open space at the junction of Chatham-street and Broadway, thundered out the mighty welcome of a grateful people to the gallant, generous, warm-hearted and noble-minded citizen, whose life had been devoted to their service.

The reception was purely a civic one. It was not a *got-up*, official pageant, where the populace exhibit their gratitude by an invitation of the Common Council, and display a certain amount of enthusiasm duly provided for by the resolves and ordinances of the Corporation. It was the voluntary, unbought, unbidden movement of the People, to greet the arrival among them of one, who had ever been eminently the MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Harrisburg Convention—Mr. Clay the choice of the People—Presidential Contests of 1824 and 1832—Intrigues in the Convention—Means employed to thwart the Nomination of Mr. Clay—Organization of the Convention—Nomination of General Harrison—A consequence of the Kentucky Delegation—Mr. Clay's Letter—Remarks of Gov. Barbour, Mr. Leigh, Mr. Livingston—John Tyler, Nominated for the Vice Presidency—Grounds of the Nomination.

As the period of another Presidential Election drew near, that vast portion of the Democracy of the land, opposed to the administration of Mr. Van Buren, began to turn their eyes towards the most able, renowned and consistent of their leaders, Henry Clay, as a fitting candidate for the Chief Magistracy of the United States. The Champion of the People, their interests and their honor, during the Last War—the Preserver of the Union on two momentous occasions, when it was threatened with Dissolution and Civil War—the Founder and vigilant Protector of the American System—the Friend of Internal Improvements—the intelligent Advocate of a Sound, Uniform, Republican Currency, and of a Judicious Tariff—the experienced Statesman, who, at Ghent, and in the Department of State, had displayed the highest order of talents in the service of his country—the active Foe of Executive Usurpation—the chivalrous Defender of the Constitution and the Laws, who, in his public career, had ever manifested his obedience to the principle that the WILL OF THE PEOPLE, faithfully expressed, should give Law—the Vindicator of Human Liberty throughout the World—WHO could present claims so numerous, so powerful, so overwhelming, upon the gratitude, confidence and suffrages of the People of the United States?

The fact of his having been in two instances an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency, was the only objection worthy of notice, which was brought forward by those who, while they professed to admit his claims, and to accord with him in his political creed, were doubtful of the expediency of his nomination. But what were the facts in regard to those two instances? In the election of 1824, he failed in

being elected by the Primary Colleges, in company with John Quincy Adams, Andrew Jackson, and William H. Crawford. So that the argument in this case would have been as valid against any one of these candidates as it can be against Mr. Clay. He was excluded from being one of the three highest candidates, who were returned to the House on this occasion, by being *unfairly deprived of Electoral Votes in New-York and Louisiana*. It was, moreover, well known that, if the Election were carried to the House, Mr. Clay would, as the natural result of his great popularity, be elected. The friends of all the other candidates, consequently, had a united interest in excluding him.

With regard to the contest of 1832, the reflection of Gen. Jackson at that time could not be construed into an indication of popular feeling towards Mr. Clay. The "Hero of New-Orleans" had, during his first term, just entered upon his novel experiments in the Currency; and a great part of the People were disposed to give them a fair trial, and afford him an opportunity to carry out the policy he had commenced. The patronage of the Executive was directed, to an extent wholly unparalleled, towards the continuance of the sceptre in his hands. Nullification had begun to show its menacing face, and there were many, even among those who were hostile to the general policy of the Administration, and friendly to Mr. Clay, who yet unwisely thought that strenuous measures towards South Carolina would be required, and that the Union would be safest under the direction of a Military Chief Magistrate.

In addition to these circumstances, the party opposed to Gen. Jackson was distracted by Anti-Masonry, which presented an excellent and popular candidate for President in William Wirt.

These two elections are all in which Mr. Clay has been a candidate for the Presidency, and in neither did he have a fair field. He has been nearly twenty times a candidate for the suffrages of the People, and only on these two occasions defeated. Mr. Van Buren, with a clear field and the whole patronage of the Government in his own hands, failed in the election of 1840.

How ridiculous, then, to assert that the Presidential contests of 1824 and 1832 afford any test of Mr. Clay's present strength with the People of the United States! Let it be borne in mind, moreover, that since the period of his last candidacy he has rendered the most memorable services to the country; and that he comes before the people endued with many new claims upon their gratitude and support.

The Democratic Whig Convention for the nomination of a Presidential Candidate, met at Harrisburg, on the 4th of December, 1839. That they represented a constituency, two-thirds of which were in favor of the nomination of Henry Clay, we cannot entertain a doubt. But soon after the assembling of the Convention, intrigues were set on foot by an adroit few for the selection of some other candidate. It was contended by these men that Mr. Clay was deficient in popular strength, and they would soothingly add, that he was too good and great a man ever to be made President.

One word in regard to this argument, which we often hear from the lips of persons *professing* an attachment to Democratic principles. It is a gross libel on the intelligence of the people, and is found.

ed in a supercilious distrust of their competency to self-government. Communities may be deluded, and Republics, through error, be ungrateful *for a time*, but so surely as truth prevails, as prevail it must, will they make amends for their injustice. The sentiment of generosity is strong in the breast of a people; and it is never stifled except through misconception or ignorance.

The most successful means employed at Harrisburgh to defeat the nomination of Mr. Clay was to praise him and decry his prospects. Some dozen or more individuals residing chiefly in different parts of the State of New-York, but embracing persons in other States, would write letters to one another, professing to give calculations based upon unerring statistics. The intriguers were thus severally supplied with a bundle of letters full of extravagant eulogiums upon Mr. Clay, and of lamentations that so great and good a man, and one who had rendered such signal services, could not be elected. These letters were pulled out and exhibited from time to time, as was best calculated to advance the end in view, their exhibition being generally preceded by the observation: "You know that Mr. Such-a-one, the writer of this letter, is a devoted friend of Mr. Clay; but only read what he thinks and says of his Presidential prospects."

Attempts were also made to convey an exaggerated impression of the superiority of Gen. Scott's strength over that of Mr. Clay in New-York—a superiority which never existed. Men who had been sent to the Convention, by constituents entertaining an enthusiastic preference for Mr. Clay, became suddenly doubtful as to his strength, and commenced manufacturing public opinion for the advancement of their own selfish ends. These manœverers were few in number, but in a body like that at Harrisburgh, where a conciliatory and compromising spirit prevailed, they were enabled to exert an all-important influence. The intriguers soon succeeded in detaching many of the honest and sincere friends of Mr. Clay from his support, alarming them by their fabricated public opinion and appealing to their patriotism and their attachment to principles rather than men.

Hardly a doubt seemed to be entertained, on the first meeting of the Convention, that Mr. Clay would be nominated. There were not two opinions expressed on the point, that he *ought* to be President of the United States. The question was one solely of *probability* of election; and this was a question partly of mere opinion and partly of testimony. Such a state of things presented a rare opportunity for intrigue and deception; and a few—a very few—could, it is obvious, by a resort to unprincipled arts and *strained* representations, and by busy, underhand intrigues, mislead the majority and defeat their will. Unhappily for the country, such a *few* were found; and receiving coadjutors, as they soon did, in some honest but duped friends of Mr. Clay, their influence was greatly augmented, and even those who had had the fullest faith in the strength of their favorite candidate began to question whether *expediency* would not require another choice.

In stating these well-known facts, it is far from our intention to intimate that there were not some gentlemen in the Convention who honestly believed that it would be injudicious to nominate Mr. Clay at that time. Unquestionably there were such;

and they may now be found among the warmest and most single-hearted of his supporters. But we must, nevertheless, adhere to the conviction that the will of the People was not faithfully spoken by that Convention; and that the defeat of Mr. Clay's nomination was brought about by a misapprehension of their most earnest wishes and anticipations.

The Convention was organized on the 5th of December by the appointment of Hon. James Barbour as President, with thirteen Vice Presidents and four Secretaries. A Committee was appointed to report upon the nomination of a candidate, and, after a session of nearly two days, during which the intriguers were not idle with their bundles of letters, it reported in favor of William Henry Harrison. The friends of Mr. Clay—those who had adhered to him to the last—disappointed as they were in this unlooked-for result, were too well aware of the generous sentiments of their candidate, not to acquiesce in it cheerfully and with a good grace. At the meeting of the Convention, on the 9th of December, Mr. Banks of Kentucky was the first to rise and announce the hearty concurrence of the Delegation from that State in the nomination indicated by the informal ballot announced by the Committee. Mr. Preston, from the same State, followed in the same strain, and asked that a letter from Mr. Clay, which had for several days been in possession of a Delegate, but which had not been shown, lest it should seem intended to be used to excite sympathy for Mr. Clay, should now be read. Permission being unanimously given, the letter was read by General Leslie Combs of Kentucky.

In this letter Mr. Clay says: "With a just and proper sense of the high honor of being voluntarily called to the office of President of the United States by a great, free and enlightened people, and profoundly grateful to those of my fellow-citizens who are desirous to see me placed in that exalted and responsible station, I must nevertheless say in entire truth and sincerity, that if the deliberations of the Convention shall lead them to the choice of another as the candidate of the opposition, *far from feeling any discontent, the nomination will have my best wishes and receive my cordial support.*" He then calls upon his friends from Kentucky, discarding all attachments or partiality for himself, and guided solely by the motive of rescuing our country from the dangers which environed it, to heartily unite in the selection of that citizen, although it should not be Henry Clay, who might appear the most likely by his election to bring about a salutary change in the Administration.

The reading of this letter excited great emotion in the Convention. It was the saying of a patriot of antiquity, that he would rather have it asked by posterity why a monument was *not* erected to him than why it was. A similar spirit would seem to actuate Mr. Clay; for never has he been known to manifest any personal disappointment at the failure or betrayal of his Presidential prospects.

Gov. Barbour, of Virginia, after expressing his concurrence in the will of the Convention, said he had known Mr. Clay for thirty years, and had been intimately associated with him in public and private life, and that a more devoted Patriot or purer Statesman never breathed. In the course of that thirty years he had never heard him utter one sentiment

worthy this character. There was no place in his heart for one petty or selfish emotion.

Benjamin Watkins Leigh anticipated the concurrence of Virginia in the nomination. He had felt it his duty to support his more intimate and endeared friend, Henry Clay, but he acknowledged the worth of Gen. Harrison. He had supported the former to the last from the firmest conviction that no other man was so fitted to the crisis—so transcendently qualified for the highest office in the gift of the American people as Henry Clay. He never thought that Mr. Clay needed the office, but that the country needed him. That office could confer no dignity or honor on Henry Clay. The measure of his fame was full, and whenever the tomb should close over him it would cover the loftiest intellect and the noblest heart that this age had produced or known.

The venerable Peter R. Livingston, of New-York, an able and ardent supporter of Mr. Clay, said in regard to him—"I envy Kentucky, for when he dies, she will have his ashes!"

A candidate for the Vice-Presidency remained to be nominated by the Convention. He was found in the person of John Tyler, of Virginia. By what unfortunate chance this selection was made, it is unnecessary now to inquire. It must be said in exculpation of those, however, who acquiesced in it, that there was no good reason for doubting Mr. Tyler's political fidelity and attachment to Whig principles. On all the great questions of public policy he was considered as pledged to the support of those measures for which the Whig party had been battling during the last ten years. On the subject of the Public Lands he had, as a Member of the Virginia Legislature, in 1839, declared himself, both in a Report and a Speech, an advocate of the measure of Distribution. In a speech before the U. S. Senate, he had condemned, in unequivocal terms, the abuse of the Veto power. He went to Harrisburg, as he himself has said, *in favor of Henry Clay—he voted for him in his own Delegation up to the seventh and last ballot*—and, if his own words are to be believed, *he was affected even to tears*, when the nomination was given by the Convention to another. Surely it cannot be said that he might have been in favor of Mr. Clay's nomination to the Presidency, and yet opposed to the most important public measures to which that distinguished Statesman had ever rendered his support.

On the question of a Bank, it was, with reason believed that Mr. Tyler's views were similar to those maintained by the great Whig Party of the country. Whilst a member of the Convention at Harrisburg, he had made to Governor Owen, of North Carolina, Chairman of the Committee, through whom all nominations must find their way to the Convention, the following communication:*

"That his views on the Bank Question had undergone an entire change; that he believed the establishment of a National Bank to be alike indispensable as a Fiscal Agent of the Government, and to the restoration of the Currency and Exchanges of the country; and he thought that all Constitutional objections ought to yield to the various Executive, Legislative and Judicial decisions of the question."

In addition to all these circumstances, the simple

* See the Address of the Delegates from Maryland, in the Harrisburg Convention, to their constituents. These facts will be found eloquently set forth in that able paper.

fact of Mr. Tyler's presence in the Convention—of his silent approval of all those important measures which were regarded as consequent upon the election of a Whig President—was, in the minds of honorable men, equivalent to a pledge that those measures would, in any event, continue to meet his ready and earnest support.

Under the influence of considerations like these, the Convention unanimously nominated John Tyler, of Virginia, for the Vice Presidency; and, having taken this step, adjourned.

A deep disappointment was felt throughout the Whig ranks at the failure of the Convention to nominate Mr. Clay for the Presidency; but the magnanimous sentiments expressed in his letter, read at the Convention, soon began to animate his friends; and they manifested their devotion to principles rather than to men, by rallying vigorously in support of the selected candidates.

With regard to John Tyler, he was very imperfectly known out of Virginia; and if little could be said in his favor, still less could be said to his prejudice. The office of Vice President was generally regarded as one of comparatively slight consequence; and there seemed to be an utter absence of all apprehension of the contingency, by which its importance was so fearfully magnified. Future Conventions will never forget the lesson which Mr. Tyler has given to his countrymen and their posterity.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Mr. Clay again in Congress—Passage with Mr. Calhoun—Reconciliatory Incident—The Bankrupt Bill, &c.—The Sub-Treasury again—A Government Bank—Mr. Clay visits his native County of Hanover—His Speech—Proposed Reforms—He addresses the Harrison Convention at Nashville—Democracy—Born a Democrat—Reminiscence of a Revolutionary Incident.

MR. CLAY'S efforts in the Democratic Whig cause appear not to have been less ardent, incessant and faithful, during the Congressional Session of 1839-40, than at any previous period of his career. The just expectations of his friends had been thwarted at Harrisburg; but that circumstance did not seem either to affect his spirits, or to damp the ardor of his opposition to that policy which he believed injurious to the best interests of his country. He acquiesced promptly, heartily and nobly in the nomination of General Harrison, and did not manifest, on any occasion, a lurking feeling of disappointment. He took an early occasion in the Senate to reiterate the sentiments expressed in his letter, read at the Convention; and he showed himself prepared to do vigorous battle in behalf of the principles which he and his associates had been struggling, for the last twelve years, to maintain.

In the Senate, on the third of January, 1840, Mr. Southard moved the reconsideration of an order of reference of Mr. Calhoun's Land Bill to the Committee on Public Lands. The proposition gave rise to a passage between Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Clay, in which severe language was employed on both sides. Allusion being made to their respective political careers at the time of the Force Bill and the Compromise Act, Mr. Calhoun said that the gentleman from Kentucky was flat on his back at that time, and was *compelled* to the Compromise—and that he (Mr. Calhoun) was then his *master*.

In reply, Mr. Clay, in the ardor of his feelings, remarked:—"The gentleman has said that I was 'flat on my back—that he was my master on that occasion. He my master! Sir, I would not own him for my slave!'"*

The principal questions on which he spoke during this session were—on the Abolition of Slavery; on the Bankrupt Bill; the Maine Boundary Line; Mr. Calhoun's Bill to cede the Public Lands to the States in which they lie; the Navy Appropriation Bill; the Independent Treasury Bill; on the Branch Mints; the Expenditures of Government; the Cumberland Road; Repeal of the Salt Tax; and the Bankrupt Bill. His opinions on nearly all these subjects are so well known as to render a recapitulation unnecessary.

Notwithstanding the indications of public hostility, and "in spite of the lamentations" in Congress "and elsewhere," Mr. Van Buren and his friends continued to press their odious Sub-Treasury project, now newly christened under the name of the "Independent Treasury Bill." Against this measure Mr. Clay battled with undiminished vigor and zeal. On the twentieth of January, 1840, he addressed the Senate in one of his most spirited speeches, in opposition to the bill, which he truly designated as a Government Bank in disguise, demonstrating the assertion by proofs the most convincing.

"A Government Bank," said Mr. Clay, "may not suddenly burst upon us, but *there* it is, embodied in this bill. Let the reelection of the present Chief Magistrate be secured, and you will soon see the Bank disclosing its genuine character. But, thanks be to God! there is a day of reckoning at hand.—All the signs of the times clearly indicate its approach. And on the fourth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1841, I trust that the long account of the abuses and corruptions of this Administration, in which this measure will be a conspicuous item, will be finally and for ever adjusted."

He introduced, on this occasion, a bill for the Repeal of the Sub-Treasury System, but it was not acted upon until the will of the People was so peremptorily spoken that longer resistance to it, on the part of Mr. Van Buren and his friends, was impossible.

During the summer of 1840, Mr. Clay visited his native County of Hanover, and was every where hailed with enthusiasm and reverence. At a public dinner given to him at Taylorsville, June 27th, 1840, he addressed a vast assemblage of his friends in a speech, which may be referred to as a text book of his political faith. It is probably in the hands of too many of our readers to render an abstract of it useful in this place. Although his opinions on all public questions of importance have been always frankly

avowed, he defines his position in this speech with unusual minuteness and precision. With a view to the fundamental character of the Government itself, and especially of the Executive branch, he maintains, that there should be—either by amendments of the Constitution, when they were necessary, or by remedial legislation, when the object fell within the scope of the powers of Congress—

1st. A provision to render a person ineligible to the office of President of the United States after a service of one term.

2d. That the Veto power should be more precisely defined, and be subjected to further limitations and qualifications.

3d. That the power of dismission from office should be restricted, and the exercise of it rendered responsible.

4th. That the control over the Treasury of the United States should be confided and confined exclusively to Congress; and all authority of the President over it, by means of dismissing the Secretary of the Treasury, or other persons having the immediate charge of it, be rigorously precluded.

5th. That the appointment of Members of Congress to any office, or any but a few specific offices, during their continuance in office, and for one year thereafter, be prohibited.

Mr. Clay was among the most active of those, who took part in the campaign of 1840, which terminated in the complete triumph of the Whigs. On the 17th of August, 1840, he addressed the Harrison Convention at Nashville, Tennessee, in an interesting and eloquent speech. In allusion to the professions of the Van Buren party to be Democrats *par excellence*, he very happily said—"Of all their usurpations, I know of none more absurd than the usurpation of this name."

"I WAS BORN A DEMOCRAT," said he, subsequently in a speech delivered in Indiana—"rocked in the cradle of the Revolution—and at the darkest period of that ever memorable struggle for Freedom. I recollect, in 1781 or '82, a visit made by Tarleton's troops to the house of my mother, and of their running their swords into the new-made graves of my father and grand-father, thinking they contained hidden treasures. Though then not more than four or five years of age, the circumstance of that visit is vividly remembered, and it will be to the last moment of my life. I was born a Democrat—was raised and nurtured a Republican—and shall die a Republican, in the faith and principles of my fathers."

CHAPTER XIX

Election of General Harrison—He visits Mr. Clay—Second Session of the Twenty-Sixth Congress—Inauguration and death of General Harrison—The Extra Session—Mr. Clay's Labors—John Tyler's Veto of the Bank Bill—Mr. Clay's eloquent Speech in Reply to Mr. Rives—The Van Buren men in Congress call to congratulate John Tyler on his Veto—Mr. Clay's fanciful description of the Senate—Events succeeding the Veto—More Vetoes—The Tariff—Mr. Clay resigns his seat in the Senate—Impressive Farewell.

THE election of General Harrison to the Presidency in the autumn of 1840, by an immense majority, was hailed by the Whigs as the triumphant consummation of their long and arduous twelve years' struggle against the disorganizing principles and measures which had prevailed during the ascendancy of Jackson and Van Buren. A majority of the People had at length passed their solemn verdict against those measures, and in favor of the legis-

* Mr. Clay is not the man to harbor the harsh feelings sometimes engendered in animated debate. After his farewell speech, on resigning his seat in the Senate, as he was about to leave the Chamber, he encountered Mr. Calhoun. They had not spoken to each other for five years; but they now simultaneously extended their hands, and cordially greeted each other, while the tears sprang to their eyes. They had almost spent their lives together in Congress; and during the War, and at various times subsequently had stood shoulder to shoulder, animated by the same patriotic impulses and aspirations. Time had passed over both, and the young men had become old. For a minute or more, they could not speak, so overcome were both with emotion. At length Mr. Clay said, on parting, "Give my best regards to Mrs. Calhoun;" and they bade each other farewell.

lation for which Mr. Clay and the Whigs in Congress had been so unanimously contending. Before commencing his journey to the Seat of Government, General Harrison visited Mr. Clay, and personally tendered him any office in the President's gift. Mr. Clay respectfully declined all invitations of this kind, and announced his intention of retiring from the Senate as soon as the objects for which he and his friends had been laboring so strenuously were placed in a train of accomplishment.

The Session of Congress preceding the new President's installation found Mr. Clay at his post, still prompt and active in the service of his country. On the Land Bill—the Repeal of the Sub-Treasury—the Bill to establish a Uniform System of Bankruptcy—the Treasury Note Bill—the Pre-emption and Distribution project—and other important questions, on which his views are familiar to our readers, he addressed the Senate with his accustomed eloquence and energy. In his Speech of the 23th of January, 1841, on the Land Bill, he entered into an able vindication of Whig principles and measures as contrasted with those of the expiring Administration. There being still a Van Buren majority, Mr. Clay's Resolutions, repealing the Sub-Treasury, after affording occasion for some eloquent debates, were laid on the table the 19th of February. Some remarks being made in the Senate by Mr. Cuthbert, toward the close of the Session, of a character prejudicial to Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay eloquently vindicated that distinguished Senator, and bore testimony to his exalted merits.

The Second Session of the Twenty-Sixth Congress terminated on the night of the 3d of March—the Van Buren men having refused to pass a Bankrupt Bill and other important measures. The day after the adjournment, General Harrison was inaugurated President of the United States; and, on the 18th of March, he issued his Proclamation for an Extra Session of Congress, to commence on the last Monday in May. Before that period arrived, and precisely a month after his inauguration, the venerable President departed this life; and, by a provision of the Constitution, John Tyler of Virginia, the Vice President, was invested with the authority of President of the United States.

The Extraordinary Session of Congress, convened by the Proclamation of the lamented Harrison, took place at the appointed time, the last Monday in May, 1841. Never was there a body of Representatives who came together with a more patriotic and honorable desire faithfully to execute the will of their constituents, the majority of the People of the United States, than the Whigs, who composed the Twenty-Seventh Congress. Mr. Clay at once took active and decided measures for the prompt dispatch of the public business. The subjects which he proposed to the Senate, as proper exclusively to engage their deliberations during the Extra Session, were:

- 1st. The repeal of the Sub-Treasury Law.
- 2d. The incorporation of a Bank adapted to the wants of the People and the Government.
- 3d. The provision of an adequate Revenue by the imposition of Duties, and including an authority to contract a temporary Loan to cover the Public Debt created by the last Administration.
- 4th. The prospective Distribution of the proceeds of the Public Lands.
- 5th. The passage of necessary Appropriation Bills.

6th. Some modification in the Banking System of the District of Columbia for the benefit of the People of the District.

In the formation of Committees, Mr. Clay was placed at the head of that on Finance; and, on his motion, a Select Committee on the Currency for the consideration of the Bank question was appointed. Of this Committee he was made Chairman. Early in June he presented his admirable Report of a Plan for a National Bank; and, after a thorough discussion, the bill was passed, which, on the 16th of August, called forth a Veto from President Tyler. On the 19th of the same month, Mr. Clay addressed the Senate on the subject of this Veto. His remarks, although apparently made "more in sorrow than in anger," are pervaded by the spirit of unanswerable truth; and, in his rejoinder to Mr. Rives, on the same day, he rises to a height of eloquence never surpassed on the floor of Congress. In the opinion of many of his hearers, it was one of the most brilliant Speeches of his whole Senatorial career. On this occasion he showed, by irresistible proofs, that the question of a Bank was the great issue made before the People at the late Election. "Wherever 'I was,'" said he—"in the great Valley of the 'Mississippi—in Kentucky—in Tennessee—in Maryland—in all the circles in which I moved, every 'where, *Bank or No Bank* was the great, the leading, the vital question."

Not long after the Veto, as Mr. Clay, with two or three friends, was passing the Treasury Buildings, along the road leading to the Pennsylvania Avenue, he noticed a procession of gentlemen walking two by two, toward the White House. "In the name of wonder, what have we here?" exclaimed Mr. Clay, while his features lighted up with one of those mischievous smiles, which are so contagious, seen on his countenance. *It was a procession of the Van Buren Members of Congress, going personally to congratulate John Tyler on his Veto!*

The incident was not forgotten by Mr. Clay. The scene was too rich and piquant to pass unnoticed. On the 2d of September, a suitable opportunity presented itself in the Senate for a commentary on the occurrence; and he availed himself of it in a manner, which entirely overcame the gravity of all parties present. He gave an imaginary description of the scene at the White House, and the congratulations lavished upon the President by his new friends. He pictured to the Senate the honorable member from Pennsylvania (Mr. Buchanan) approaching the Throne, and contributing his words of encouragement and praise to those, which had been offered by the rest. The imaginary speech, which he put into the lips of this gentleman on this occasion, was so characteristic, that Mr. Buchanan subsequently complained in the Senate, that it had been gravely attributed to him by several journals as having been actually delivered, and that he could not divest many of his worthy constituents in Pennsylvania of the idea.

The figure of Mr. Benton was one of too much importance not to be introduced by Mr. Clay into this fancy sketch.

"I can tell the gentleman from Kentucky, that I was not at the White House on the occasion to which he alludes," said the Missouri Senator interrupting him.

"Then I will suppose what the gentleman would have said if he had been present," continued Mr. Clay, without suffering his imagination to be checked in its flight. And he then represented the wordy and pompous Missourian bowing at the Executive footstool, and tendering his congratulations.

The space to which we have been restricted, will not allow us to present even an imperfect sketch of the whole scene. We can only refer the reader to it as one of the most felicitous of those legitimate presentations of the *ludicrous*, made to illustrate the *true*, which sometimes occur to enliven the barrenness of legislative debate.

The events which succeeded the Veto are too recent in the minds of the People to render a minute enumeration necessary here. They are forcibly summed up in Mr. Adams's excellent Report on the President's Veto of the Revenue Bill. A second Bank Bill, shaped to meet the avowed views of the President, was prepared, passed, and then vetoed. The Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, resigned; and the great purpose for which the Special Session of Congress had been called was defeated by the will of one man, who owed his influential position to his professed attachment to Whig principles, and his declared preference for Mr. Clay as a candidate for the Presidency.

Mr. Clay was unremitting in his application to the public business during the Extra Session. He spoke on a great variety of questions, and, being at the head of two important Committees, performed a great amount of hard work. Although his principal measure for the public relief was defeated by the unlooked-for defection of John Tyler, he had the satisfaction of aiding in the Repeal of the odious Sub-Treasury System—in the passage of the Bankrupt Law—and in the final triumph of his favorite measure, often baffled but still persevered in, the Distribution of the Sales of the Public Lands. By the provisions of this last law, Distribution was to cease whenever the average rate of Duties on Imports should exceed 20 per cent.

A Revision of the Tariff, rendered necessary by the expiration of the Compromise Act, was also undertaken. This was the most important subject which engaged the attention of the Twenty-Seventh Congress, at its first regular session. To meet the exigency of the occasion, a Provisional Bill, suspending the operation of the Distribution Bill for one month, as well in consequence of a lack of funds in the Treasury, as of a desire on the part of Congress to give more mature consideration to the subject of a Tariff, was passed. But it encountered still another and another Veto from the President.

It has been asserted that Mr. Clay and his friends did not desire an adjustment of the Tariff question, during the Session of 1841-2. Nothing could be more unfounded than this charge. In spite of discomfiture and mortification, they persevered in their efforts for the relief of the country, and eventually surrendered the Distribution clause to meet the views of the President; and the Tariff Bill finally became a law, through the patriotic endeavors of the friends of Mr. Clay, notwithstanding the attempt of Mr. Tyler to crush their energies and arouse their opposition.

On the thirty-first of March, 1842, after one of the longest Congressional careers known in our annals,

Mr. Clay resigned his seat in the Senate of the United States. It having been previously understood that he would take occasion, in presenting the credentials of his successor, Mr. Crittenden, to make some valedictory remarks, the Senate Chamber was, at an early hour, crowded to its utmost capacity, by Members of the other House, and by a large assemblage of citizens and ladies. Some of Mr. Clay's best friends had looked forward with apprehension to this event—wearing the aspect, as it did, of a formal and appointed leave-taking. They remembered that there was but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous, and they dreaded lest the truly impressive character of the occasion might be marred, or divested of its dignity, by any farewell words. But Mr. Clay had hardly risen to speak before their apprehensions were lost and forgotten in a deep and absorbing interest in the language that flowed calmly, smoothly and majestically from his lips. He referred to the period of his first entrance into the Senate, in 1806. He paid a merited compliment to the high character of that body, and to the ability of its individual Members; but added that, full of attraction as was a seat in that Chamber, to fill the aspirations of the most ambitious heart, he had long determined to forego it, and to seek repose among the calm pleasures of "home."

It had been his purpose, he said, to terminate his connection with the Senate in November, 1840. Had President Harrison lived, and the measures devised at the Extra Session been fully carried out, he would have then resigned his seat. But the hope that at the Regular Session the measures left undone might be still perfected, induced him to postpone his determination; and events, which arose after the Extra Session, resulting from the failure of those measures which had been proposed at that Session, and which appeared to throw on his political friends a temporary show of defeat, confirmed him in the resolution to attend the present Session also—and, whether in prosperity or adversity, to share the fortune of his friends. But he resolved, at the same time, to retire as soon as he could do so with propriety and decency. Mr. Clay then continued as follows:

"From 1806, the period of my entry on this noble theatre, with short intervals, to the present time, I have been engaged in the public councils, at home and abroad. Of the nature or the value of the services rendered during that long and arduous period of my life, it does not become me to speak; history, if she deigns to notice me, or posterity, if the recollections of my humble actions shall be transmitted to posterity, are the best, the truest, the most impartial judges. When death has closed the scene, their sentence will be pronounced, and to that I appeal and refer myself. My acts and public conduct are a fair subject for the criticism and judgment of my fellow-men; but the private motives by which they have been prompted—they are known only to the great Searcher of the human heart and to myself; and I trust I may be pardoned for repeating a declaration made some thirteen years ago, that, whatever errors—and doubtless they have been many—may be discovered in a review of my public service to the country, I can with unshaken confidence appeal to the Divine Arbitrer for the truth of the declaration, that I have been influenced by no impure purposes, no personal motive—have sought no personal aggrandisement; but that in all my public acts I have had a sole and single eye, and a warm and devoted heart, directed and dedica-

ted to what, in my judgment, I believed to be the true interest of my country."

Mr. Clay then alluded to the fact, that in common with other public men he had not enjoyed an immunity from censure and detraction. But he had not been unsustained. And here the allusion to the persecutions of his assailants led to the mention of Kentucky, the State of his adoption—noble Kentucky—who, when the storm of calumny raged the fiercest, and he seemed to be forsaken by all the rest of the world, threw her broad and impenetrable shield around him, and bearing him up aloft in her courageous arms repelled the poisoned shafts aimed for his destruction. As Mr. Clay uttered the name of Kentucky, his feelings overpowered him—the strong man was bowed with emotion—he passed his fingers before his eyes for a moment—then rallied, and proceeded with his remarks. To the charge of Dictatorship, which was so often in the mouths of his opponents at that time, Mr. Clay replied temperately and happily. We can quote but a fragment of this portion of his Valedictory Address:

"That my nature is warm, my temper ardent, my disposition, especially in relation to the public service, enthusiastic, I am fully ready to own; and those who supposed that I have been assuming the Dictatorship, have only mistaken for arrogance or assumption that fervent ardor and devotion which is natural to my constitution, and which I may have displayed with no little regard to cold, calculating and cautious prudence, in sustaining and zealously supporting important National measures of policy which I have presented and proposed."

The truly generous qualities of Mr. Clay's nature shine forth from every line of the following passage:

"During a long and arduous career of service in the public councils of my country, especially during the last eleven years I have held a seat in the Senate, from the same ardor and enthusiasm of character, I have no doubt, in the heat of debate, and in an honest endeavor to maintain my opinions against adverse opinions equally honestly entertained, as to the best course to be adopted for the public welfare, I may have often inadvertently or unintentionally, in moments of excited debate, made use of language that has been offensive, and susceptible of injurious interpretation toward my brother Senators. If there be any here who retain wounded feelings of injury or dissatisfaction produced on such occasions, I beg to assure them that I now offer them my most unqualified apology for any departure on my part from the established rules of parliamentary decorum and decency. On the other hand, I assure the Senators, one and all, without exception and without reserve, that I retire from this Senate Chamber without carrying with me a single feeling of resentment or dissatisfaction towards the Senate or any of its members."

Mr. Clay concluded this memorable address by invoking, in a tone which thrilled through every heart, the blessings of Heaven upon the whole Senate and every member of it. The hushed suspense of intense feeling and attention pervaded the crowded assemblage as he sat down. For nearly half a minute after he had finished no one spoke—no one moved. There was not a dry eye in the Senate Chamber. Men of all parties seemed equally overcome by the pathos and majesty of that farewell.—At length Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, rose and remarked, that what had just taken place was an epoch in their legislative history; and, from the feeling which was evinced, he plainly saw that there

was little disposition to attend to business. He would therefore move that the Senate adjourn.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; but even then the whole audience seemed to remain spell-bound by the effect of those parting tones of Mr. Clay. For several seconds no one stirred. "In all probability we should have remained there to this hour," said an honorable Senator to us recently, in describing the scene, "had not Mr. Clay himself risen, and moved towards the area." And then at length, slowly and reluctantly, the assemblage dispersed.

Shortly after the adjournment, as Mr. Calhoun was crossing the Senate Chamber, he and Mr. Clay encountered. For five years they had been estranged; and the only words which had passed between them had been those harshly spoken in debate. But now, as they thus inadvertently met, the old times came over them. They remembered only their political companionship of twenty years' standing.—The intervening differences, which had chilled their hearts towards each other, were forgotten. The tears sprang to their eyes. They shook each other cordially by the hand—interchanged a "God bless you!" and parted. We have alluded elsewhere briefly to this scene. It was a happy sequel to the leading events of the day.

CHAPTER XX.

Return to Kentucky—Speech at Lexington—Visits Indiana—Scene with Mr. Mendenhall—Remarks on Slavery—Personal Matters—Slanders Refuted—The Dayton Convention—Visit to the South-West—Triumphal Progress—Return Home—Contemplated Visit to the South-East—Letters on the Tariff—Letter to the Whigs of Fayette County, Va., in regard to John Tyler—Again Visits New-Orleans—Addresses the Whig Convention—Leaves New-Orleans on his way to North-Carolina.

On his return to Kentucky, after retiring from public life, Mr. Clay was received with all those manifestations of enthusiastic affection which it is possible for a grateful constituency to exhibit. On the 9th of June, 1842, he partook of a public entertainment or Barbecue, given in his honor near Lexington.

The speech which he delivered on this occasion is probably fresh in the recollection of many of our readers. Containing as it does many personal reminiscences of his past career, and a review of those leading questions of policy upon which we have already given his opinions, it is one of the most interesting of his numerous addresses to popular assemblies.

Early in October, 1842, being on a visit to Richmond, in the State of Indiana, the occasion of his meeting a large concourse of his fellow citizens was seized upon by a number of his political opponents to present him with a petition praying him to emancipate his slaves in Kentucky. It was thought that even Henry Clay would be nonplussed and embarrassed by so inopportune and unexpected an appeal. A Mr. Mendenhall was selected to present him with the petition, and expectation was raised to the highest pitch among the few who were in the secret, and who were far from being Mr. Clay's well-wishers, to hear what he would say. Never did he acquit himself more felicitously than on this occasion.

The indignation was great among the assembly when they learned the object with which Mr. Mendenhall had made his way through their midst to the spot where Mr. Clay stood. They regarded it as an insult to him and his friends; and the probability is, that Mr. Mendenhall would have had some palpable proof of their sense of his impertinence, had not Mr. Clay instantly appealed to the assembly in the following terms:

"I hope that Mr. Mendenhall may be treated with the greatest forbearance and respect. I assure my fellow citizens, here collected, that the presentation of the petition has not occasioned the slightest pain, nor excited one solitary disagreeable emotion. If it were to be presented to me, I prefer that it should be done in the face of this vast assemblage. I think I can give it such an answer as becomes me and the subject of which it treats. At all events, I entreat and beseech my fellow citizens for their sake, for my sake, to offer no disrespect, no indignity, no violence, in word or deed, to Mr. Mendenhall."

Then, turning to Mr. Mendenhall: "Allow me to say," said Mr. C., "that I think you have not conformed to the independent character of an American citizen in presenting a petition to me. A petition, as the term implies, generally proceeds from an inferior in power or station to a superior; but between us there is entire equality."

Mr. Clay remarked, in continuation, that he desired no concealment of his opinions in regard to the institution of Slavery. He looked upon it as a great evil, and deeply lamented that we had derived it from the Parental Government and from our ancestors. But, without any knowledge of the relation in which he stood to his Slaves, or their individual condition, Mr. Mendenhall and his associates had presented a petition calling upon him forthwith to liberate the whole of them.

"Now let me tell you," said Mr. C. "that some half a dozen of them, from age, decrepitude or infirmity, are wholly unable to gain a livelihood for themselves, and are a heavy charge upon me. Do you think that I should conform to the dictates of humanity by ridding myself of that charge, and sending them forth into the world, with the boon of liberty, to end a wretched existence in starvation?"

In conclusion, Mr. Clay admirably exposed the hypocrisy of the petitioners by the following proposition, in regard to which they have never taken any steps:

"I shall, Mr. Mendenhall, take your petition into respectful and deliberate consideration; but before I come to a final decision, I should like to know what you and your associates are willing to do for the Slaves in your possession, if I should think proper to liberate them. I own about fifty, who are probably worth fifteen thousand dollars. To turn them loose upon society without any means of subsistence or support would be an act of cruelty. Are you willing to raise and secure the payment of fifteen thousand dollars for their benefit, if I should be induced to free them? The security of the payment of that sum would materially lessen the obstacle in the way of their emancipation."

Mr. Clay finished his remarks with some friendly advice to Mr. Mendenhall, which it is probable that individual will never forget. The tables were completely turned upon those who had thought to annoy and embarrass the great Kentuckian. The bearer of the petition and his associates were suffered to slink away unnoticed and unheeded by the crowd.

As the period for a new Presidential election approaches, the enemies of Mr. Clay are circulating the grossest misrepresentations in regard to his conduct as a slave-holder and his opinions upon the subject of the institution of Slavery. A Mr. James Channing Fuller, who according to his own showing, smuggled himself into the kitchen at Ashland and interrogated the slaves, in the absence of Mr. Clay from home, has published a statement in relation to Mr. Clay's domestic affairs, full of the most ridiculous falsehoods. One of the slaves, named Darkey, who seems to have been very communicative in "humbugging" the fellow, on being asked why she had told him such big stories, replied: "Why, the man came sneaking about the house like a fool, and I thought I would make a bigger fool of him."

A Mr. Abel Brown, who was indicted not long since for libel by the Grand Jury of Albany, has also been busy in propagating the vilest slanders in regard to Mr. Clay's connection with the slaveholding interest. We need only stamp them as deliberate and malicious falsehoods, wholly unsustainable by the slightest shadow of proof.

The Lexington Intelligencer says:

"Mr. Clay owns about fifty slaves. Several of them, from age and infirmity, are an absolute charge upon him. His allowance of food to them, is a pound of bacon per day for adult men, and in that proportion for women and children—free access to the meal-tub for bread, and plenty of vegetables. Most of them raise fowls. They are well clothed and housed, and the tasks given them are very light, inasmuch, that during the season of breaking hemp, some of the men can earn their dollar per day. Their attachment to Mr. Clay is strong. Charles has travelled with him through the greater part of the United States and both the Canadas. When at the Falls of Niagara, three years ago, Mr. Clay was asked by a friend if he was sure of Charles's fidelity; for that some Abolitionists had been attempting to seduce him from his service. Mr. Clay replied that they were welcome to get him off if they could. He might go if he pleased; he would be only anticipating his freedom a few days. In Canada, Charles was again importuned and teased, until excessively vexed, he turned upon his tormentors and told them that he would not leave his master for both of the Queen's Provinces. Charles's wife, a free woman and her children, all live upon Mr. Clay's place and are chiefly supported by him, without rendering any equivalent."

There has never been any concealment on Mr. Clay's part of his opinions on the subject of Slavery. Through the whole course of this Memoir they will be found scattered, from the period when he first advocated the gradual eradication of Slavery from Kentucky in 1797 to the present moment. In his speech before the Colonization Society in 1827, (see Chapter X. of the present work,) nothing can be more explicit than the language he employs. We refer those who would be enlightened further in regard to his views, to that eloquent address.

On the 29th of September, 1842, Mr. Clay attended the great Whig Convention at Dayton, Ohio, where ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND WHIGS are believed to have been assembled.

"At 8 o'clock," says one of the actors in the scene, "when every street in the city was filled, and there seemed no resting-place for any, the procession was formed. This occupied a long time. When done, the order, 'March!' was given; and,

in solid mass, we moved to welcome the great Statesman, Henry Clay, into the city. He was met near the city, and, at half-past 9 o'clock, reached the neighborhood of the National Hotel. Here a beautiful sight was witnessed. One hundred and twenty-five children, as the honest patriot approached, welcomed him with songs! Their sweet voices rang out in merry peals, and the multitude responded to it with the heartiest enthusiasm. After this, Mr. Clay occupied a stand for some time, as the procession passed by, welcoming him to Ohio, and in return receiving his salutations.

When the procession had passed, Mr. Clay retired into the Hotel. Governor Metcalf then appeared at the window, and delivered a Speech—returning the thanks of Kentucky for the warm-hearted reception they had met with, and bidding all who loved the name of American to rally together in defence of American Liberty and American Labor.

Mr. Schenck read Resolutions, prepared by the Committee, nominating Henry Clay and John Davis for the Whig candidates for 1844. At this time Mr. Clay was seen in the crowd, and then, as if there had been one voice only, the shout went forth for the Statesman of the Nation. He answered it; and, in a Speech of two hours, plain, yet eloquent, he spoke, concealing no opinion, disguising no wish, the multitude all the while listening with eager attention and breathless silence. And such a Speech! It was a master-effort of a master-spirit."

Of this tremendous meeting Mr. Clay afterward remarked, that of all the crowds in Europe or elsewhere he never saw one so great. A vast sea of human heads surrounded the platform, covering many acres.

In the month of December, 1842, Mr. Clay, having private business in New-Orleans, where some of his near relations reside, visited that city, stopping at Natchez and other places on his route. He was every where received by the People with such enthusiastic demonstrations of popular affection as had never before been bestowed upon any American except Washington.

On his return homeward from Louisiana, about the middle of February, 1843, his progress was continually impeded by vast assemblages of the people to meet and welcome him. At Mobile, on the 2d of February, and at Vicksburg, on the 20th of February, an immense concourse of citizens collected to offer the tribute of their gratitude and respect. The Hon. S. S. Prentiss addressed him, on the latter occasion, in that strain of fluent and impassioned eloquence for which that young and gifted orator is distinguished.

At Jackson, the capital of Mississippi, Mr. Clay was met and welcomed by the largest concourse ever assembled in the State. At Memphis, Tennessee, crowds of citizens from the surrounding region assembled to tender him their affectionate respects, to look on and listen to the greatest living champion of their Country's honor and interests. Thus felicitated and welcomed on his route, Mr. Clay, with more than a conqueror's trophies, returned, in fine health and spirits, to Ashland, just as Spring was beginning to fringe with green the old oaks that waved around his homestead.

Early in April he addressed a large body of his fellow citizens in the Court-House yard at Lexington; and, in the course of his remarks, acknowledged, in appropriate language, the attentions which had been paid to him and the honors which had been showered upon him by all parties during his late trip to the South-west.

It having been understood that Mr. Clay would make a tour to the South-east during the autumn of 1843, innumerable letters from Committees in all sections of the country were poured in upon him, requesting him to visit a multitude of places, both on his route and aside from it. The task of replying to these letters must alone have been exceedingly laborious. North Carolina was, we believe, the first to claim from him a visit. In his reply to a Committee of citizens of Raleigh, dated 10th July, 1843, he consents to pay a visit, some time in the course of the next spring to that State, which was "the first to declare the Independence of the Colonies, and will be among the last to abandon the support of the Union."

Several letters from Mr. Clay on the subject of the Tariff appeared, during the Summer of 1843. Nothing could be more explicit and undisguised than the expression of his views. In his reply, dated 13th September, 1843, to a letter from F. S. Bronson, Esq., of Georgia, asking his opinions in regard to the Protective policy of 1832, he writes:

"The sum and substance of what I conceive to be the true policy of the United States, in respect to a Tariff, may be briefly stated. In conformity with the principle announced in the Compromise Act, I think, that whatever revenue is necessary to an economical and honest administration of the General Government, ought to be derived from duties, imposed on Foreign imports. And I believe that, in establishing a Tariff of those duties, such a discrimination ought to be made, as will incidentally afford reasonable protection to our national interests.

"I think there is no danger of a high Tariff being ever established; that of 1823 was eminently deserving that denomination. I was not in Congress when it passed, and did not vote for it; but with its history and with the circumstances which gave birth to it, I am well acquainted. They were highly discreditable to American legislation and I hope, for its honor, will never be again repeated.

"After my return to Congress in 1831, my efforts were directed to the modification and reduction of the rates of duty contained in the act of 1823. The act of 1832 greatly reduced and modified them; and the act of 1833, commonly called the Compromise Act, still farther reduced and modified them. The act which passed at the Extra Session of 1841, which I supported, was confined to the free articles. I had resigned my seat in the Senate when the act of 1842 passed. Generally, the duties which it imposes are lower than those in the act of 1832. And, without intending to express any opinion upon every item of this last Tariff, I would say that I think the provisions, in the main, are wise and proper. If there be any excesses or defects in it, (of which I have not the means here of judging,) they ought to be corrected.

"My opinion, that there is no danger hereafter of a high Tariff, is founded on the gratifying fact that our manufactures have now taken a deep root. In their infancy, they needed a greater measure of protection; but, as they grow and advance, they acquire strength and stability, and, consequently, will require less protection. Even now, some branches of them are able to maintain, in distant markets, successful competition with rival foreign manufactures."

By this it will be seen that Mr. Clay, so far from contemplating the expediency of higher and higher duties, believes that the rapid and constant progress of our manufactures tends ever to diminish instead of to increase the necessity of decidedly *protective* duties. He never was in favor of a high tariff. In his own language, he believes that "the revenue 'from the General Government should be derived 'from the foreign imports, to the exclusion of direct 'taxes, and the proceeds of the sales of public lands; 'and that no more revenue should be levied than is 'necessary to an economical administration of the 'Government; but that, in levying it, such discriminations ought to be made as will afford moderate 'and reasonable protection to American interests 'against the rival and prohibitory policy of foreign 'powers."

Notwithstanding these clear and unequivocal declarations, the attempt is frequently made to misrepresent Mr. Clay's views in regard to the Tariff. Surely there is no longer any excuse for ignorance upon this subject among persons claiming to be intelligent.

The Whigs of Fayette county, Virginia, some time in September, 1843, wrote to Mr. Clay, requesting him to favor them with a visit on his way to or return from North Carolina. By the following extracts from his reply, it will be seen that he is far from disguising his sentiments in regard to Mr. Tyler:

"The treachery, gentlemen, of the acting President, to which you allude in terms of just indignation, is mortifying to us as Americans.

"Considering the youth of our republic, and the virtuous and illustrious men who have filled the office of Chief Magistrate of the Union, it is painful in the extreme to behold such an example of utter abandonment of all the obligations of honor, of duty, and of fidelity. But, far from allowing that degrading fact to throw us into a state of apathy and despondency, it ought to stimulate every American freeman to redouble his energies in rescuing his government from the impure hands into which it has accidentally fallen.

"Against Mr. Tyler no exertion is necessary. He will soon retire with the contempt and amidst the scoffs of all honorable men. Our efforts should be directed against those who first seduced and then profited by him; those who, after having won him to their uses, now affect to shrink from the contaminating association; those who, after his complete identification with them, and at the moment when he is appropriating to their exclusive advantage the whole patronage of the government, unjustly upbraid us with the failure of measures, the adoption of which was prevented by his perfidy and their countenance and support of him."

In December, 1843, Mr. Clay's private affairs again required his presence in New-Orleans. He was welcomed on his route to that city by the same testimonials of popular attachment that had signalized his journey of the preceding year; and, during his residence in the great southern metropolis, citizens of all parties seemed to unite in doing him honor. Before his departure, the State Convention of the Democratic Whigs of Louisiana, which was holding its session at the time, formed in procession, the 23d of February, 1844, and marched to the St. Charles hotel, where he was staying, to tender their respects. On the 25th of February, he reached Mobile, on his way to North Carolina. Although it was the sabbath, and of course no civic ceremonies denoted the wel-

come which was swelling in every bosom, yet the wharves were lined with a dense and innumerable throng, eager to catch a glimpse of him as he disembarked. On the 5th of March, he left Mobile for Montgomery, Columbus (Georgia), Macon, and other intermediate cities on his route, followed by the best hopes of the people.

A letter from him to the Whigs of Philadelphia, bearing date the 10th of February, 1844, is worthy of mention in this place for the sentiments it expresses in regard to Washington. Mr. Clay had been invited to unite in the celebration of the anniversary of the birth of the hero of Mount Vernon. Distance and unavoidable engagements prevented his acceptance of the invitation. In his reply he says: "The 'birth of no man that ever lived is so well entitled to 'perpetual commemoration as a rare blessing bestowed on mankind by the goodness of Providence. 'In contemplating his career and character, we behold displayed and concentrated in him, calmness, 'dignity, moderation, firmness, fidelity, disinterestedness, wisdom—all the virtues that adorn the warrior, the patriot, the statesman, and the honest man. 'Most justly has he acquired the title of the Father 'of his Country. During the Revolution, and since, 'many good men have arisen in the United States; 'but WASHINGTON stands at an immeasurable height, 'elevated far above them all."

On the 1st of April, 1844, Mr. Clay reached Columbia, South Carolina, where he was the guest of the Hon. William C. Preston. On the 6th, he visited Charleston; and here all sorts of honors and gratulations were heaped upon him by the enthusiastic Whigs of that hospitable city. He was received by an immense concourse of citizens in the theatre, and being addressed by the venerable Dr. William Read, one of the few surviving officers of the Revolution, he replied in a speech of nearly two hours' duration, which commanded and repaid the closest attention. As the Tariff was the subject which most intimately affected the interests of his hearers, he reiterated, with his accustomed frankness, his views in regard to it. He declared himself in favor of a system of protection, moderate, reasonable, certain, and durable—yielding no more revenue than is necessary for an honest and economical administration of the government, and, within that limit, discriminating in the imposition of duties between those articles which do and those which do not enter into competition with domestic industry—throwing the heavier duty on the former and the lighter duty on the latter. Peace could only be found by taking the middle path. Neither interest nor section could expect to have it all its own way. The matter must be adjusted by concession, compromise, conciliation—such concession, compromise, and conciliation, as led to the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and under the influence of which our political union would continue to fulfil its sacred trust, and move forward in its high career a blessing to our race.

At Raleigh on the 12th, Mr. Clay met with a reception every way worthy the "Old North State." His friend and former fellow-laborer, B. W. Leigh of Virginia, made the journey to Raleigh to meet him, and addressed the multitude from the porch of the capitol with great animation and effect. Mr. Clay was escorted by an immense throng of citizens

to the residence of the Governor of the State, Mr. Morehead, where he remained during his stay in Raleigh.

At Wilmington he addressed the people, and one paragraph of his speech commends him to the confidence of his countrymen of all parties. He said, "I am a Whig: I am so because I believe the principles of the Whig party are best adapted to promote the prosperity of the country. I seek to change no man's allegiance to his party, be it what it may. A life of great length and experience has satisfied me that all parties aim at the common good of the country. The great body of the Democrats, as well as the Whigs, are so from a conviction that their policy is patriotic. I take the hand of one as cordially as that of another, for all are Americans. *I place COUNTRY far above all parties.* Look aside from that, and parties are no longer worthy of being cherished."

On the 18th of April, he passed on to Petersburg, Virginia, and, the Saturday following, embarked for Norfolk, where he did not arrive till Sunday morning, owing to the detention of the boat by fog. His progress was a series of ovations. On the 26th, he arrived in Washington. He was now approaching one of the most interesting epochs of his eventful life. By acclamation the Whigs of the country seemed to call upon him to stand forth once more, the worthiest embodiment of their principles, the candidate of their choice and affections. In every State there were spontaneous movements of the people, which precluded all doubt as to the result of the deliberations of a Whig National Convention for the nomination of President. We must here indulge in a brief retrospect of public events connected with Mr. Clay's recent career; and it is with no wish to revive old griefs that we shall touch upon topics, in their views upon which good Whigs may differ. Our object is to present such facts as should guard us for the future against errors, which all experience calls out upon us to shun.

CHAPTER XXI.

A Retrospect—The Harrisburgh Convention—A Mistake committed—Mr. Clay's Relations toward General Harrison—Anecdotes—Mr. Clay and John Tyler.

THE Whig Convention of 1839 deserves further notice as the parent cause of all the disasters which have since attended the Whig party. If Mr. Clay had been then nominated, as he ought to have been—if the will of those who constituted the convention had prevailed, there can be no doubt that he would have been elected by a majority as great, if not greater, than General Harrison subsequently received. Being elected, all those measures and reforms, of which the country stood so much in need, and which its welfare required, would have been successfully carried out. The pages in our annals on which the treachery of John Tyler cast a stain, would have presented a far different aspect. The party, which was prostrated and overwhelmed by the signal victory of 1840, would never again have risen into power, and we should have had no annexation of Texas, no war with Mexico, no anti-protective attacks upon domestic industry, no public debt, and none of those other fatal measures, under which the

country is suffering, or from which it is destined to suffer.

That Convention violated a great principle. The only principle which can justify a Convention is, that it should truly collect and represent the public sentiment of those by whom it has been delegated. If it may disregard the will of its constituents, and substitute in the place of it its own will, it ceases to be a representative body, and becomes, in effect, an electoral college. Placed in that position, what compass has it, or what guide? And what a field is at once opened for artful intrigue and for corrupt practices!

That Mr. Clay was the choice of an immense majority of those who created the Convention, was incontestable. So great, indeed, was that majority, that a leading and influential member of the Convention, who had largely contributed to bring about the nomination of General Harrison, remarked, a few days afterward, in Washington city, to Mr. Clay: "You, sir, were the choice of ninety-nine out of every hundred of the Whig party in the United States, but we were afraid that you could not get the hundredth man, and therefore we nominated General Harrison."

And how could the Convention have known that General Harrison would not lose some dozen or more of that ninety-nine? Not only did the great body of the Whig party desire and expect Mr. Clay's nomination, but a great majority of the delegates to the Convention themselves left home with the intention of voting for it. A member of the Maine delegation, at a public dinner given in the city of Washington to the delegates who had assembled there shortly after the adjournment of the Convention, declared such to have been the intention of his delegation—and yet they voted otherwise. The delegation from Michigan was instructed to vote for Mr. Clay; and they voted against him. Several of the delegates from New York, who were instructed to vote for him, cast their vote for General Harrison. Many of the delegates from Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Jersey, started from their homes with the same intention to vote for Mr. Clay, and they voted for General Harrison.

This change of purpose was wrought on the journey to the Convention through New-York, by the active intrigues of a few busy politicians of that State and city. The vote of the State of New-York, always important, was an object of deep solicitude in the approaching election; and it is remarkable that some of the delegates from that State asserted, in the early stage of the proceedings of the Convention, that General SCOTT alone could secure the vote of the State; that the prospects of Mr. Clay were the next best, and that General Harrison stood no chance of gaining it. Yet those very delegates finally voted for General Harrison against Mr. Clay. So shocked was an illustrious and venerable delegate from New-York (Peter R. Livingston) at the wrongful proceedings of the Convention, that he had his foot to the floor to rise and denounce them, and break it up; and he was only restrained by the pleadings of some gentlemen who sat near him.

Throughout the whole United States, when the decision of the Convention was known, one general feeling of disappointment and disapprobation pervaded the ranks of the entire Whig party; and

many, who afterward supported the nominee, resolved in their chagrin that they would not sustain him: their change of intention was brought about by the disinterested and magnanimous course of Mr. Clay. We have already seen that he addressed a letter to a delegate, which was read to the Convention; but that was not all. Mr. Clay was not the man to disturb the harmony of the great movement then about to be made, by pressing upon the country any pretensions, however just, of his own. He well knew the wrong which had been done him; but he felt that it was much more important to the republic to secure a better administration of its affairs than to elevate him to the Presidency. He therefore nobly suppressed his keen sense of the injustice which had been done him, and threw the whole of his zeal, ability, and influence, into the canvass in support of the nominee for whom he had been so injuriously supplanted. He attended the dinner already mentioned, given to the delegates assembled at Washington city, gave in his adhesion, and addressed the assembly in behalf of General Harrison. From the moment that this patriotic, self-forgetting course was known throughout the Union, concord and harmony were the result; and the great Whig party awoke to urge on the good cause with zeal and enthusiasm. The triumphant result stands recorded in history.

All were sensible of the noble disinterestedness of Mr. Clay's course, but no one appreciated it more highly, or felt more grateful for it toward him, than General Harrison himself. On the 15th of January, 1840, the General addressed a letter from North Bend to Mr. Clay at Washington city, from which we have been permitted to make the following extract:

"MY DEAR SIR: The generosity of your nature will not permit you to doubt that my feelings of gratitude toward you for the magnanimity of your conduct toward me, in relation to the nomination for the Presidency, are such as they ought to be, although I have so long delayed to express them directly to you. I must beg you also to believe that if the claims derived from your superior talents and experience (so universally acknowledged by my supporters) had prevailed over those which accidental circumstances had conferred upon me, and enabled the Convention to name you as the candidate, that you would have had no more zealous supporter in the Union than I should have been."

Since the unfortunate nomination at Harrisburgh in December, 1839, or rather, since the unfortunate events which ensued, the party of the Opposition, at their Convention at Baltimore in 1844, have committed a similar mistake. Disregarding public sentiment and the popular sympathy, they selected for the Presidency a gentleman but little known, and who, perhaps, had not been thought of for that office by a solitary being in the United States. The injurious, the fatal consequences of that selection are now, and will be, for a long time to come, everywhere felt and deplored. It is in the order of Providence, however, to chastise deviations from correct principle; and, as the result was in the case of the Whig party in 1844, so will it probably be in that of its opponents at the next election, a signal and overwhelming overthrow. Heaven grant that the Whigs may not, by a repetition of their old blunder, offset the effects upon his party of the nomination of Mr. Polk, of Tennessee!

During the whole canvass of 1840, and up to the time of General Harrison's death, he and Mr. Clay were upon terms of the most confidential intimacy. The first time they met after the election was at the house of Governor Letcher in Frankfort, Kentucky; and Mr. Clay afterward entertained the President elect at Ashland. During their interviews on those occasions, they had long, full, and interesting conversations, on the state of public affairs. In their first interview, General Harrison offered, and Mr. Clay promptly declined, any place in the new administration. He was then resolved to retire from the Senate to private life. Both of them concurred in the expediency of a call of an extra session of Congress, agreeing that the benefit of those measures of public policy which the people, in the great event that had just transpired, had signified their wish to bring about, ought not to be deferred to the ordinary period for the assembling of Congress. Indeed, the bankrupt condition in which Mr. Van Buren had left the treasury was of itself an evil which rendered an early convening of Congress indispensable. It was at their first interview at the Governor's, that Mr. Clay, after having declined the offer of any official station, suggested to General Harrison that he ought not, in his official arrangements, to overlook Mr. Webster, and that if he had himself been elected, he should have felt bound, from the high estimation in which that gentleman was then held by the Whig party, to tender him some distinguished place. He did not designate any particular station to which he thought Mr. Webster ought to be appointed. Mr. Clay was induced to make this suggestion, because the ground had been taken in several leading Whig journals that if he did not go into the cabinet, Mr. Webster ought not. The suggestion of Mr. Clay appeared to remove a burden from the mind of General Harrison; and the next day, the latter, in conversation with several gentlemen at Frankfort, indulged in excessive praise of Mr. Clay for his great disinterestedness and magnanimity.

After the return of General Harrison from Kentucky to North Bend, he and Mr. Clay did not meet until the arrival of the former at Washington to enter upon the duties of the high office to which he had been elected. Their friendly intimacy was again renewed. General Harrison placed his inaugural address in the hands of Mr. Clay, with the request that he would examine it, and intimate any alterations that might occur to him as being necessary. He at the same time informed him that a member of his projected cabinet had prepared an inaugural for him, which he wished him to adopt, but that he would not substitute it for his own *for fifty thousand dollars*. Several of the intended members of the cabinet apprehended that General Harrison's composition would not be well received by the public, and they applied to Mr. Clay to induce him to modify it. In compliance with their request, Mr. Clay carefully examined the document, and proposed a number of inconsiderable alterations, some having reference to the phraseology, and some to the sentiment; and most of these the new President promptly and thankfully adopted. But there was one alteration, longer than any of the others, which he proposed, and against this the General set his face. The proposed alteration was, to expunge the clauses relating to the Greeks and Romans, which may now be

seen in the early part of his address. This was touching the General on a tender point; and, in declining to adopt it, he remarked that he was particularly attached to allusions and illustrations drawn from Greek and Roman history; and *apropos* to this remark he related the following anecdote of himself:

When a member of the House of Representatives, he was one day addressing the Speaker in a speech of considerable vehemence and length. During its delivery he made frequent citations from Greek and Roman history. The galleries were excessively thronged, and a man was endeavoring to push his way through the crowd to a position where he could see as well as hear. He could not reach one; but hearing the references to the Greeks and the Romans, he exclaimed, with the most emphatic of oaths, "That's General Harrison! Though I can't see him, I know him by what he says of the Greeks and Romans!"

Mr. Clay's great anxiety, after General Harrison's entrance upon his official duties, was, to secure the adoption of those public measures which, by his election, and through his administration, the people wished to establish. This was the absorbing desire of Mr. Clay's heart. He knew that if he interfered in the disposal of the patronage of the Government, he would excite jealousies against himself, to which he was aware there existed a predisposition, and impair his just influence in the establishment of wise systems of policy. Painful, therefore, as it was for him to abstain from promoting the wishes of friends whom he would gladly have served, he abstained from all interference in public appointments further than to endeavor to prevent the adoption of one or two, which he regarded as injudicious and bad.

If General Harrison had lived, there is reason to believe that all the great and leading measures of the Whig party would have been successfully carried out. But it pleased Providence to decree otherwise. The nation had to deplore the untimely death of General Harrison in one short month after his installation, and John Tyler, as the Vice-President, succeeded him.

Mr. Clay had known this latter gentleman a number of years, although he had had no hand in his nomination to the office from which he was transferred to the Presidency. Mr. Tyler was affable, polite, and agreeable, in company and conversation. He had made no great figure in any of the various offices which he had filled, was not considered firm of purpose, yet always acquitted himself respectably, and was supposed to be at least honest. His inaugural address, through the medium of the press at Washington, created hopes—but hopes, which, in the sequel, were sadly disappointed. Shortly after the death of General Harrison, Mr. Clay received two remarkable letters from Virginia, which deserve a passing notice. One of them was from a distinguished citizen of the city of Richmond, and bears date the 4th of April, 1841, the very day on which President Harrison expired. To the letter, the greater part of which was on business, was appended a postscript to the following effect: "We have very bad accounts from Washington as to the state of General Harrison's health. His death is seriously apprehended. Your friend, Judge B——, was just now with me, and says that Harrison will certainly die; that Tyler luck will kill him! Should that event

happen, and Tyler come in, *he will play the devil;—how, I don't know: but I am sure he will play the devil!*"

The other letter, also from an eminent citizen, was dated the 7th of April, 1841, at Williamsburgh, the place of Mr. Tyler's residence, and to it was appended a postscript substantially as follows: "We have just heard of the death of President Harrison, and I have just seen Mr. Tyler, who is to succeed him. I told him that it was a great event, and shifted on him an immense responsibility; but that if, upon going to Washington, he would embrace some suitable occasion to announce to the public that he did not mean to be a candidate for the succession, he would have an easy and probably a successful administration. He remarked, in reply, that he had just been thinking of *that*; but," adds the writer, "*it was manifest to me that he had not been thinking favorably of it.*"

Notwithstanding these predictions and expressions of distrust, Mr. Clay, in May, 1841, proceeded to Washington to attend the extra session, with a firm determination faithfully to perform his own duty, and to conciliate Vice-President Tyler as far as he could, and engage him to concur and co-operate in the adoption of the public measures demanded by the public welfare, and of which an expectation was authorized by the ascendancy of the Whigs in the national councils.

Upon Mr. Clay's arrival at the seat of government, he promptly called on Mr. Tyler, dined with him, frequently visited him at tea in the evening, and, on these occasions, conversed with him in the most frank, friendly, and confidential manner. During those visits, the subject of a Bank of the United States frequently formed the topic of conversation; and Mr. Tyler declared that he had formed no opinion against one; that he *would* form none on the subject till a bill should be matured, passed, and presented to him; and that no mortal, in the meantime, should know what was to be his final determination. And yet, notwithstanding these positive declarations, Mr. Clay had abundant reasons afterward to believe that Mr. Tyler, before the passage of the Bank-bill, had stated to others that he would approve no Bank-bill that could be presented to him!

In his evening visits at the White-House, Mr. Clay often met suspicious persons, who created in his mind some apprehension and alarm. He, however, continued his visits until the levee of the 4th of July, which was the last time he ever entered the presidential mansion. While the Bank-bill was pending in the Senate, he reluctantly consented to the introduction into it of the clause relating to the branches of the Bank, providing for the contingencies of the assent or dissent of the States in which it might be proposed to establish them. He yielded to it from two considerations: the first was, that he had reason to believe, from communications received from members of the cabinet of Mr. Tyler, that he would certainly approve the bill with that clause inserted; the second was, that without it, the votes of two Senators could not be obtained which were indispensable to the passage of the bill through the Senate.

The measures which Mr. Clay regarded as important to occupy the attention of the extra session were indicated by him in a series of resolutions proposed in the early part of the session. It will be seen, upon

an examination of them, that the Bankrupt-bill was not one of those measures. He thought that the consideration of it ought to be postponed to the ordinary session. But, owing to the perseverance of Senator Tallmadge, of New York, it was finally agreed to act upon it. But it cannot be regarded as one of Mr. Clay's measures, although he cheerfully shares the responsibility of its passage, believes that it was rendered necessary to individuals by the ruinous measures of the two previous administrations, and that its operation, upon the whole, was beneficial to the public.

Never did Mr. Clay, and never, perhaps, did any other man perform the same amount of hard labor in the same space of time, that he did during that extra session. His whole soul seemed engrossed with the duty of fulfilling the promises which the Whig party had made to the country. He declined almost all invitations to dinners and entertainments. His habit was to rise as early as five o'clock every morning, dash on horseback into the country six or seven miles, and return to an early breakfast. From that time until ten or eleven o'clock at night he was constantly engaged, either in the preparation of business for the Senate, in attendance upon committees or the Senate itself, or in consultation with his political friends. During the arduous debate on the Bank-bill, which was continued several weeks, he was left almost alone to struggle with a host of opponents. On one occasion he had to rise and answer seven of them, who had assailed the bill. He sometimes felt as if he were deserted by his friends, not being aware of what he afterward learned, that they had, upon a conference among themselves, deemed it best to leave the subject to his exclusive management.

We have alluded to the visit of Mr. Clay, in the summer of 1840, to the humble spot in Hanover county, Virginia, which gave him birth. On this occasion he was surprised to find the total change which all the scenes of his boyhood had undergone. He had not been there for upward of forty-five years, and everything was so altered, that he would not have recognized the spot had he not been told it was the same. Small pine-trees, not higher than his head when he left it, in which the "old fields," as they are called in that part of Virginia, abound, had grown up into tall forest-trees. Orchards had disappeared, and others been planted in their places. The graves of his father, grandfather, and grandmother, had been levelled and obliterated by the plough, and the only guide to the spot where they reposed was an old stump of a pear-tree, whose position he recollected. Peace to their spirits! It matters little to them whether the ploughshare cut the turf above their poor mortal dust, or a stately monument mark the place of its interment.

The dwelling-house alone remained without any essential change; and tradition had carefully preserved a recollection of the room in which Mr. Clay was born. He was anxious to find a hickory-tree, remarkable for the excellence of its fruit, which stood near by the spring that supplied his father's family with water. It no longer stood there—it was gone! Upon inquiry after it of a friend in the neighborhood, who was possessed of a somewhat poetical imagination, he replied that when General Jackson was elected President, the tree withered; and when

he removed the deposits from the Bank of the United States, it fell decayed to the earth. Mr. Clay, of course, laughed heartily at this fanciful account of the fate of his favorite tree.

We turn from these desultory retrospections to the stirring political events which preceded and attended the presidential canvass of 1844.

CHAPTER XXII.

Mr. Clay is nominated for the Presidency—He returns to Kentucky—The Texas Question, and his Views upon it—Their Fulfilment—The Annexation Scheme—The Whig Conventions at Baltimore—Mr. Clay accepts the Nomination for the Presidency—The Democratic Convention—Party Preparations—Old Slanders revived—The Election and the Result.

MR. CLAY'S sojourn in Washington during the spring of 1844 was one of respite from the fatigues of travel and public receptions. On the 1st of May, he was nominated for the Presidency by the Whig National Convention at Baltimore, and on the 13th of the same month he set out for Ashland, attended only by his son, and arrived at Lexington the evening of Saturday the 18th, in fine health and spirits. Here he was enthusiastically welcomed by an immense collection of his fellow-citizens. In vain did he attempt to escape from the pageant of a public reception. He was compelled to listen to an address of salutation and compliment. His reply was candid, good-humored, and to the point. He told the multitude that he was happy to see them—happy to see every one of them—"but there was an excellent old lady in the neighborhood, whom he would rather see than any one else"—so, begging them to allow him to return to Ashland, he bade them good-night! This irresistible appeal was received in the spirit in which it was made; and amid the blaze of torches and the cheers of the people, he was escorted to his home.

Events of interest to the country and to himself had transpired during the interval of his absence. The question of the annexation of Texas, that fertile source of many woes, had come up; and he had written a most statesmanlike letter on the subject. Discussions in regard to him had been started in Congress with the view of affecting his political prospects; and a Whig Convention, assembled at Baltimore, had, on the 1st of May, 1844, nominated Henry Clay for President of the United States, and Theodore Frelinghuysen for Vice-President.

Mr. Clay's letter on the Texas question was written while he was partaking the hospitalities of Governor Morehead at Raleigh, the 17th of April. In this letter he states the fact that, during his sojourn in New-Orleans, he had been greatly surprised by information received from Texas, that in the course of the autumn of 1843, a voluntary overture had proceeded from the Executive of the United States to the authorities of Texas, to conclude a treaty of annexation. To the astonishment of the whole nation, we were now informed that a treaty of annexation had been actually concluded, and was to be submitted to the Senate for its consideration. If, without the loss of national character, without the hazard of foreign war, with the general concurrence of the nation, without any danger to the integrity of the Union, and without an unreasonable price, the ques-

tion of annexation were presented, it would appear in quite a different light. Mr. Clay then enters upon a review of our past negotiations in regard to the territory of Texas, and of the relations of Texas toward Mexico. And the conclusion at which he arrives is, that if the Government of the United States were to acquire Texas, it would acquire along with it all the incumbrances which Texas is under, and among them the actual or suspended war between Mexico and Texas.

And here the language of Mr. Clay has the emphasis of prophecy: "Of that consequence," he says, "there cannot be a doubt. *Annexation and war with Mexico are identical.*" In conclusion he remarks: "I consider the annexation of Texas, at this time, without the assent of Mexico, as a measure compromising the national character, involving us certainly in war with Mexico, probably with other foreign powers, dangerous to the integrity of the Union, inexpedient in the present financial condition of the country, and not called for by any general expression of public opinion." In a subsequent letter, dated Ashland, July 27, 1844, and addressed to two gentlemen of Alabama, Mr. Clay says unhesitatingly, that, far from having any personal objection to the annexation of Texas, he should be glad to see it, *without dishonor*; but, at the same time, he expresses the conviction that annexation at that time, and under existing circumstances, would compromise the honor of the country; involve us in a war, in which the sympathies of all Christendom would be against us; and endanger the integrity of the Union. National dishonor, foreign war, and distraction and division at home, were too great sacrifices to make for the acquisition of Texas. He remarks in this letter: "I do not think that the subject of slavery 'ought to affect the question one way or the other.' Whether Texas be independent, or incorporated 'in the United States, I do not believe it will pro-
'long or shorten the duration of that institution. It 'is destined to become extinct at some distant day, 'in my opinion, by the operation of the inevitable 'laws of population."

As the period for the nomination of presidential candidates approached, it became more and more apparent that the Texas question was destined to override all others in the coming contest. The Bank, the Tariff, and all subordinate matters, were merged in the one great issue of the immediate Annexation of Texas. Among the Whigs there was a general acquiescence in the views of Mr. Clay on the subject. Some persons, who entertained extreme opinions as to the feasibility of the immediate abolition of slavery, thought him too tolerant; and others, whose interests inclined them a different way, saw, in his opposition to annexation, hostility to the extension of an institution which, it was well known, he had always regarded as an evil. But the great body of the Whigs of the Union responded heartily to his sentiments, and recognized the wisdom of his policy and the patriotism of his motives.

Soon after the withdrawal of Mr. Webster from the cabinet, it began to be rumored that our Government had made overtures inviting application from the authorities of Texas for its annexation to the United States. These overtures, it was said, were at first coolly received by President Houston; but "being again approached, not to say importuned, by the Ex-

ecutive of the United States, he coyly assented to listen to proposals." In the meantime, sedulous efforts were made to bring about that state of public opinion in this country that should favor the movements of the friends of annexation. Insidious appeals were multiplied throughout nearly all the Democratic journals, intended to arouse the jealousy of our people in regard to the designs of foreign powers. It was boldly asserted that England was intriguing with the view of establishing Texas as an independent power, and that there was great danger that the young republic would yield to the allurements which were held out. The slaveholding States were called upon to protect themselves against the danger of so formidable a rival as Texas would be under the protection of Great Britain. And then there was the pet phrase, to which, we believe, Mr. Bancroft first gave currency, of "extending the area of freedom!"

It now appears, from the confessions of President Houston and his Secretary of State, Mr. Anson Jones, that our Government was not a match for that of Texas in diplomacy. Mr. Tyler and his advisers were completely duped by the *finesse* of Messrs. Houston and Jones. The bugbear of English interference was the most unsubstantial of chimeras, and the arguments and assertions based upon it and used for operating on the minds of the people of the United States, were false and empty. Mr. Anson Jones, in a series of letters recently published in the Galveston *Civilian*, claims that it was his diplomacy in bringing about the needful state of feeling in this country, which precipitated the annexation movement; that it was the adroitness of Texas policy which accomplished an object that might have been delayed for years. He at the same time denies that there was any intrigue with foreign powers injurious to the interests of the United States or really adverse to ultimate annexation. He also makes a declaration which throws light upon the effect which the *mode* of annexation had upon the origin of the war. He is of opinion that the selection by Messrs. Tyler and Calhoun of the House resolutions instead of the Senate amendment was extremely injudicious, and he expresses his surprise that that alternative should have been presented to Texas instead of the other and more peaceful mode presented in the proposition for negotiation. He says that this decision of the Government of the United States produced surprise in that of Texas, from the belief that *war would immediately follow*; whereas, by the Senate's mode of proceeding, annexation could have been effected without war; but he says that Texas had no option but to accept the mode selected by President Tyler. The joint resolution of the House provided for the admission of Texas into the Union on certain conditions. The amendment of the Senate, which Mr. Tyler chose to set aside, provided for missions and negotiations, for the arrangement of terms of admission and cession.

The appeals and misrepresentations of the pro-annexation party undoubtedly had a great effect upon that large portion of the people who had neither leisure nor opportunity to look behind the curtain and witness the questionable means and motives at work for the accomplishment of a measure big with portents of war, and death, and slavery. Could they have seen the springs which set the

pageant in motion, they might have been disenchanted. The personal ambition of Mr. John Tyler to associate his name with an important movement, and to place himself, perhaps, as a prominent candidate for a second presidential term before the people, was the insignificant origin of that train of national sins and evils which led to the war with Mexico. The Democratic Convention and Mr. Polk did but steal Mr. Tyler's thunder, and take up the thread of his policy. The issue which they chose to make with the opposite party and the people was one which Mr. Tyler had provided for his own ends, but which was now remorselessly adopted by those who saw in it an instrument for operating upon the cupidity, the prejudices, and the fears, of a large number of their countrymen.

The Mexican authorities had emphatically declared that annexation would be regarded as an act of war on our part. Mr. Clay had expressed his belief that war would inevitably follow the measure. Mr. Van Buren, escaping for once from the trammels of non-committalism, had written a long letter in decided opposition to the project of immediate annexation; and for this he was thrown overboard by the Democratic Convention of May, 1844, who in their resolutions recommended the "re-annexation of Texas, at the earliest practicable period, to the cordial support of the democracy of the Union." The soundness of Mr. Clay's views on this question has been abundantly verified in the course of events, though his predictions were derided as chimerical at the time. Annexation was the primary, if not the proximate cause, of the war with Mexico.

It was while this annexation scheme was maturing, and all the arts and devices which chicanery could invent to reconcile public opinion were being actively employed, that the Conventions of the two great parties of the Union for the nomination of candidates for the presidential term commencing in March, 1845, met at Baltimore. The Whig Convention met first. On the 1st of May, 1844, the city of Baltimore presented an extraordinary spectacle. The whole population seemed astir, while a new one, that was almost to outnumber it, was pouring in on all sides. At every avenue, railroad-dépot, and wharf, wherever coaches, cars, and steamboats, could disengage their passengers, there was a scene of animation exhibited that bespoke the anticipation of some great event. There were to be three Conventions during the week: the National Convention for the nomination of a President and Vice-President; the Ratification Convention of Whig young men from all parts of the Union; and the Maryland gubernatorial Convention.

The hospitality of Baltimore was satisfactorily tested on this occasion. An eye-witness of the scene which the city presented described it thus: "The whole place resembles a fair. Every street is alive with people, hurrying to and fro from the dépôts, crowding the sidewalks, clastering round the hotels, chattering, laughing, singing, huzzaing. From time to time, as new delegations arrive, music sounds, banners wave, and the Whigs, with eager looks and hope and triumph in their eyes, continue to pour in by thousands from the remotest quarters of the Union. Clay badges hang conspicuously at all button-holes; Clay portraits, Clay banners, Clay ribands, Clay songs, Clay quicksteps, Clay marches,

Clay caricatures, meet the eye in all directions. Oh, the rushing, the driving, the noise, the excitement! To see, and hear, and feel, is glory enough for one day. Not only are hotels and boarding-houses of all grades and calibers already filled and overflowing, but private dwellings are thrown open with that warm-hearted hospitality which has ever characterized this ardent and excitable population. Everybody is talking: some about who is to be Vice-President, but more in anticipation of Thursday's gala. The procession will surpass anything witnessed in this country."

On Wednesday, the 1st of May, 1844, the Whig National Convention for the nomination of President and Vice-President of the United States was held in the Universalist church in Calvert street. On calling the list of delegates, it was found that there were only two who did not answer to their names, and they were from the State of Mississippi. The promptitude and unanimity shown in this full attendance was regarded as a happy augury. The Hon. Ambrose Spencer of New York was appointed President of the Convention, assisted by Vice-Presidents from all the States of the Union.

For months there had been no doubt or difference among the Whigs as to the nominee. The task of the Convention was not, therefore, an embarrassing one. Mr. Leigh, of Virginia, rose and remarked that the voice of the Whig party of the country was so decidedly in favor of a certain individual for the Presidency, that it would be unnecessary to go through the usual forms of a nomination. He then offered a resolution, declaring HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky, to be unanimously chosen as the Whig candidate for the Presidency of the United States, and that he be recommended to the people as such. This resolution was adopted by acclamation amid loud and prolonged tokens of enthusiasm and applause. A committee, composed of Messrs. Berrien of Georgia, Barnett of Ohio, Archer of Virginia, Lawrence of Massachusetts, and Erastus Root of New York, was appointed to wait on Mr. Clay and inform him of his nomination. On a proposition being made that Mr. Clay, who was in Washington, should appear in Baltimore the next day, "before the countless thousands who would then be assembled to ratify the nomination," a letter was read from Mr. Clay, in which he briefly said that he could not reconcile it with his sense of delicacy and propriety to attend either of the Whig Conventions that week in Baltimore.

The choice of the Convention for Vice-President fell upon the Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey. The result of the first ballot taken, showed 275 votes, of which 138 were necessary to a choice. John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, had 38; Millard Fillmore, of New-York, 53; John Davis, of Massachusetts, 83; Theodore Frelinghuysen, 101. The result of the second vote was—for John Sergeant, 32; Millard Fillmore, 57; John Davis, 74; Theodore Frelinghuysen, 118. The result of the third vote was—for John Davis, 76; for Millard Fillmore, 40; for Theodore Frelinghuysen, 155. So it was announced that THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN, having received a majority of all the votes given, was the candidate of the Convention for the office of Vice-President of the United States.

Mr. Frelinghuysen had been in the Senate of the

United States, and he deservedly possessed the esteem and confidence of the Whigs to the fullest extent. He had, however, become identified with an important religious sect, at whose Bible anniversaries and missionary meetings he was frequently an active and influential attendant. He was known to belong to the Presbyterian denomination of Christians; and this circumstance, while it brought over few additions to the Whig ranks, was destined to be used with great effect in prejudicing the minds of Roman Catholics and foreigners generally against the Whig presidential ticket.

On the 2d of May, the day after the Whig nominations had been made, the "Ratification Convention," composed principally of Whig young men from all parts of the country, had their procession and their meetings. "This was, beyond doubt," says an eye-witness, "the largest and most imposing political assemblage that ever convened in the United States. Every State of the Union was represented, and several of them by thousands of delegates; an assemblage of distinguished statesmen from one extreme of the Union to the other was congregated, not of young men only, but veterans in their country's service. The venerable Ambrose Spencer, the associate of Jefferson in his most ardent political struggle, was greeted by others of the same school from the east, west, north, and south. Webster and Berrien were there; Crittenden and Clayton, George Evans from Maine, Thomas Ewing from Ohio, Morehead from Kentucky. Eleven ex-Governors of the States attended the Convention."

We must refer the curious reader to the newspapers of the period for a full description of the great political pageant of the ratification. The procession through the principal streets of Baltimore was as remarkable for its numbers as for the enthusiasm of which it was the index. "It would be in vain," writes one who witnessed it, "to attempt an enumeration of the banners or their devices: this, I suppose, will all be minutely recorded by some modern Froissart. Some of them were splendid in the highest degree, especially the grand national prize banner, which was placed upon a high, tasteful car, drawn by four white horses. There were numerous likenesses of Henry Clay, some of them very exquisitely painted, and in various degrees approximating a resemblance of the original, whose true face, however, has never yet been presented, save to those who have looked upon the living original. The truth is, that Mr. Clay's countenance varies so exceedingly in its expression, according to the circumstances in which he is placed, that could it be struck into marble at any one moment, those who had seen him only when in a different mood, would find fault with it as no likeness. The favorite was here shown up in various phases: sometimes as a statesman, seated, and surrounded by books and papers; sometimes as the farmer of Ashland, in a rural scene, with cattle, plough, and instruments of husbandry; again as 'Father of the American System,' with emblems of home industry round him; often under the protection of the eagle of his country; and oftener between allegorical figures of Wisdom, Justice, and all manner of virtues; and in several cases as the favored of his countrymen, who lean upon his portrait with smiles, or point to him as their benefactor. Had Mr. Clay been present, he might be

said, parodying the line of Gray, to read his history in a nation's banners."

At this second Convention the Hon. John M. Clayton, of Delaware, presided. Judge Berrien, from the committee appointed at the nominating convention to communicate to Mr. Clay the intelligence of their choice, read the letter of the committee, and Mr. Clay's reply. "Confidently believing," says Mr. Clay, "that this nomination is in conformity with the desire of a majority of the people of the United States, I accept it, from a high sense of duty, and with feelings of profound gratitude." Mr. Webster, having been called for, addressed the meeting eloquently in behalf of the nominations, remarking that all the indications of public sentiment, in all quarters, had proclaimed that Mr. Clay, of all the rest, was the man on whom, upon this occasion, the voice of the country had concentrated. The Ratification Convention, after the adoption of appropriate resolutions, adjourned *sine die*.

The day after their adjournment, a letter from Mr. Clay, dated Washington, May 3, 1844, was addressed to the National Intelligencer, in which, by way of reply to the numerous invitations poured in upon him to visit his fellow-citizens at various points of the Union, he says: "Hereafter, and until the pending presidential election is decided, I cannot accept nor attend any public meeting of my fellow-citizens, assembled in reference to that object, to which I may have been or shall be invited. It is my wish and intention, when I leave this city, to return home as quietly and quickly as possible, and, employing myself in my private business and affairs, there to await the decision of the presidential election, acquiescing in it, whatever it may be, with the most perfect submission."

Twenty-six days after the adjournment of the Convention which nominated Mr. Clay, there were two more political Conventions in Baltimore for the purpose of nominating presidential candidates. One of these met on the 27th of May in the Odd-Fellows' Hall, North Gay street; and, after a rather stormy session of three days, nominated, to the surprise of everybody, Mr. James K. Polk, of Tennessee, for the Presidency. The next day, Mr. George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was nominated by the same body for the Vice-Presidency; Silas Wright, of New-York, having declined the nomination. The other presidential Convention to which we have referred met in another part of the city, also on the 27th, and, with extraordinary unanimity, nominated Mr. John Tyler for the Presidency.

At an early stage in the proceedings of the Democratic Convention, a proposition was brought forward by Mr. Saunders, of North Carolina, requiring a two-third vote to make a nomination. This was a fatal blow at the prospects of Mr. Van Buren, and his friends vehemently opposed the proposition. Mr. Benjamin F. Butler, of New-York, the most active of Mr. Van Buren's adherents, declared that he knew well that in voting by simple majority, the friend he was pledged to support would receive a majority of from ten to fifteen, and consequently the nomination. If two thirds should be required to make a choice, that friend must inevitably be defeated, and that defeat caused by the action of States that could not be claimed as democratic. But, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Mr. Butler and others, the two-

third system of nomination was agreed upon by a vote of 143 to 118. After seven ballotings, in which Messrs. Van Buren and Cass received the greater number of votes out of seven candidates, it began to be apparent that the friends of the annexation policy were destined to carry the day. Mr. Young, of New-York, remarked that "a firebrand had been thrown into their camp by the mongrel Administration at Washington, and this was the motive seized upon as a pretext for a change on the part of some gentlemen. That firebrand was the abominable Texas question:—*but that question, like a fever, would wear itself out, or kill the patient.*"

In his letter of April 23, 1844, to a committee in Cincinnati, Mr. Polk had remarked: "I have no hesitation in declaring that I am in favor of the *immediate re-annexation of Texas* to the territory and government of the United States." There could not be a doubt that it was for their views on this question, henceforth to be made the predominant one, that Mr. Van Buren was abandoned and Mr. Polk adopted as the candidate. "Let Texas be the watch-word," said General Jackson subsequently in his letter of June 14, 1844, "and victory is certain."

As for the Tyler Convention, it was never regarded in any other light than as a joke by the intelligent. The Democratic party, thinking they could use Mr. Tyler for their own peculiar ends, tried to preserve their gravity upon the subject and look serious; they succeeded pretty well in this until they had no further use for the renegade, and then their laughter, long suppressed, burst forth: and they have ever since extended no other notice than that of derision to Mr. Tyler and his friends. This Convention was composed in a great measure of men with little political or any other character to boast of. Its results were impotent and abortive. After affording amusement to paragraphists and newspaper readers; after Mr. Tyler had been nominated and had accepted the nomination, the farce ended with the formal withdrawal of his name from the list of candidates before the people.

And now the war of calumny, misrepresentation, and abuse, which had been waged in years past against Mr. Clay, was revived in all its virulence. That staple article of electioneering slander, the old coalition story, was manufactured anew for the market, with variations to suit the taste of a new generation. Shortly before the meeting of the Whig Convention, Mr. Linn Boyd, of Kentucky, had introduced the subject on the floor of the House of Representatives. It would be tedious to quote his citations of exploded calumnies, and show how and when their utter falsehood was proved. The conclusion at which Mr. Boyd arrives, after taking it for granted that all the nailed slanders against Mr. Clay are established verities, is simply this: "Although," he says, "impartial men may believe, as I do myself, that there was no *technical* bargain entered into between Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay in their own proper persons, yet it does seem to me that no one, free from prejudice, can carefully examine the circumstances and evidences in the case, without the most thorough conviction that it was understood by the parties that Mr. Clay's appointment to the office of Secretary of State would result from the election of Mr. Adams." Truly, a lame and impotent conclusion! As lame and impotent—if we may

borrow an illustration applied to a different case—as it would be should some political adversary accuse Mr. Boyd of murder, and, on being called on for an explanation, should say: "Although impartial men may believe, as I do myself, that there was no *technical* murder committed by Mr. Boyd in his own proper person, yet it does seem to me that he has made a slaughterous attempt upon the king's English." By his own admission Mr. Boyd fully exculpates Mr. Clay.

"Sir," said Mr. Webster, in his speech of January, 1830, on Mr. Foot's resolution, "this charge of a coalition in reference to the late administration is 'not original with the honorable member. It did 'not spring up in the Senate. Whether as a fact, 'as an argument, or as an embellishment, it is all 'borrowed. He adopts it, indeed, from a very low 'origin, and a still lower present condition. It is 'one of the thousand calumnies with which the press 'teemed during an excited political canvass. It was 'a charge, of which there was not only no proof or 'probability, but which was, in itself, wholly impos- 'sible to be true. No man of common information 'ever believed a syllable of it. Yet it was of that 'class of falsehoods which, by continued repetition, 'through all the organs of detraction and abuse, are 'capable of misleading those who are already far 'misled; and of further fanning passions already kin- 'dled into flame. Doubtless it served in its day, and 'in a greater or less degree, the end designed by it. 'Having done that, *it has sunk into the mass of stale 'and loathsome calumnies. It is the very cast-off 'slough of a polluted and shameless press. Incapa- 'ble of further mischief, it lies in the sewer, lifeless 'and despised. It is not now, sir, in the power of 'the honorable member to give it dignity or decency, 'by attempting to elevate it, and to introduce it into 'the Senate. He cannot change it from what it is '—an object of general disgust and scorn. On the 'contrary, the contact, if he choose to touch it, is 'more likely to drag him down, down to the place 'where it lies itself.'*"

In the autumn of 1844, an interesting communication was made to the public by Mr. B. W. Leigh, of Virginia, on the subject of this old galvanized slander. For some twenty years the traducers of Mr. Clay in that State had made frequent mysterious allusions to a correspondence, the publication of which they loudly demanded. Mr. Clay's reluctance to consent to the publication, originating solely in motives of delicacy the most honorable, was publicly attributed by those who well knew every syllable of that correspondence, to fears of exposure, and referred to as an admission of guilt. The very men who dreaded the publication, lest it should expose the hollowness and insincerity of their accusations, clamored for it in the reliance, which for many years proved not unfounded, that Mr. Clay would never consent to vindicate himself by the simple means which they defied him to adopt.

Some time during the summer of 1844, Mr. Clay sent copies of these letters, which his enemies made the basis of their vague and unprincipled charges, to Mr. Leigh; and, in giving them to the world, that gentleman remarks: "If I am rightly informed, no application has ever been made directly to Mr. Clay by Mr. Blair or Mr. Linn Boyd, or by any other of that party, to consent to the publication of

these letters. Overcome by the earnest entreaties of his friends in Virginia, Mr. Clay has reluctantly consented to the publication (if they think it proper) of these letters, private and confidential as they are, and even playful and sportive in their character. Knowing, as he must have known, that the publication could only be beneficial to him, he has yet patiently endured all the calumnies which have been founded on the letters. I now publish them, in order to put down, effectually and for ever, a vile charge, which has been revived after having been completely refuted, and which has been revived here in Virginia, in the hope that the letters, after so long a delay, would not be published."

From one of these letters, dated January 29, 1825, we quote a few passages, to show that even in the informal freedom of familiar correspondence, Mr. Clay's objections to the elevation of a military chieftain, with purely military claims, to the Chief Magistracy, would break forth with spontaneous earnestness and force:

* * * "The knaves cannot comprehend how a man can be honest. They cannot conceive that I should have solemnly interrogated my conscience, and asked it to tell me seriously what I ought to do!—that it should have enjoined me not to establish the dangerous precedent of elevating, in this early stage of the republic, a military chieftain merely because he has won a great victory! I am afraid that you will think me moved by these abuses. Be not deceived. I assure you that I never, in my whole life, felt more perfect composure, more entire confidence in the resolutions of my judgment, and a more unshaken determination to march up to my duty. And, my dear sir, is there an intelligent and unbiased man, who must not, sooner or later, concur with me? Mr. Adams, you know well; I should never have selected, if at liberty to draw from the whole mass of our citizens for a President. But there is no danger in his elevation now or in time to come. Not so of his competitor, of whom I cannot believe that killing twenty-five hundred Englishmen at New Orleans qualifies him for the various, difficult, and complicated duties of the Chief Magistracy. I perceive that I am unconsciously writing a sort of defence, which you may probably think implies guilt. 'What will be the result?' you will ask with curiosity, if not anxiety. I think Mr. Adams must be elected; such is the prevailing opinion. Still I shall not consider the matter as certain, until the election is over."

In a card, which bears date the 3d of May, 1844, General Jackson reaffirmed the charge of "bargain and corruption" in a manner which showed that age had not blunted the vindictive asperities of his nature. General James Hamilton, in a letter growing out of this card, dated the 26th of the same month, remarks: "It would, in my humble opinion, have been an act of supererogation on the part of Mr. Clay to have made a bargain for what, by the force and gravity of political causes and geographical considerations, was inevitable without either his crime or his participation—an offer of a seat in Mr. Adams's cabinet. . . . I sincerely believe that Mr. Clay's acceptance of the office that subjected him to such obloquy was the result of a sense of the duty which he owed to the country, to aid by his counsels him whom he had assisted to place in power."

The pertinacious industry with which this putrid calumny has been raked up by political chifioniers from the kennel where it has been repeatedly cast, "like a dead dog despised," can only be accounted

for by the fact that Mr. Clay's whole career, public and private, will bear the strictest scrutiny of honor and patriotism. He was never one of those accommodating statesmen, who, starting with the assumption that "all is fair in politics," have one conscience for their public and another for their private acts; who look upon deceptions and intrigues that would be contemptible in the man of business or of society as very venial in the politician. In the lack of other points, therefore, for attack in his public history, this miserable suspicion—for, in its most specious state, the slander could never rise above the dignity of a suspicion—was selected as the one vulnerable spot.

It has been truly remarked that "there is no example in the records of detraction and calumny of such persevering, rancorous, and malignant attacks, as those which have been constantly directed against Mr. Clay during the last twenty years, because of the fact that he did not deem it his duty, acting either upon his own judgment or in conformity with the wishes of his constituents, whom he represented in the House of Representatives, to cast his vote for General Jackson as President of the United States." Nor were these attacks confined to his public character and life. The domestic fireside was invaded. The social circle was not held sacred. Mr. Clay was denounced as a gambler, a sabbath-breaker, and a profane swearer. Stories the most unfounded, charges the most imaginary, were busily circulated by the Opposition, in newspapers and pamphlets, holding him up as a man to be distrusted by the religious portion of the community. It is unnecessary to recapitulate and refute these libels. They served their purpose, doubtless; and any exposure of their utter falsehood, however thorough and irresistible it might be, would not prevent their revival, whenever it might answer the ends of the profligate and the designing to give them currency. "Falsehood," said Mr. Clayton, of Delaware, in a speech delivered some six weeks before the presidential election—"falsehood is now the order of the day. Perhaps the world never before exhibited more disgraceful spectacles of reckless mendacity for political purposes."*

Mr. Clay's professional labors were not interrupted in consequence of his nomination. Soon after his return to Kentucky he engaged in an important law case, in which he displayed as much zeal and watchfulness in behalf of the interests of his client as if he had just entered upon the practice of the law, and was struggling to gain his first suit.

But now the eventful moment that was to influence the fate of the country for years—perhaps for centuries—was at hand. Never before were vast bodies of the American people so intensely interested in a political result as in that of the presidential election of November, 1844. It came at last, and with crushing effect, to thousands and hundreds of thousands, who had hoped and wished well for the

* While we write, one of the newspapers of the day falls under our eye, containing the following paragraph: "A Locofoco paper says Henry Clay will be the Whig candidate for President (in 1848), and very honestly adds, 'All the old lies will of course be revamped.' To be sure they will! Mr. Clay has had the misfortune to be lied about more than any other public man living; and if he should be nominated again for office, nothing less can be expected than that the old lies will be brought out again, with as many new ones added as Locofoco ingenuity and villany can invent."

republic. Mr. Clay was defeated—but defeated under circumstances far less mortifying to him than such a triumph as that achieved by his opponent, Mr. Polk, would have been. He was defeated by the grossest and most reckless frauds that were ever perpetrated by the practical enemies of republican liberty. These frauds were alone sufficient to prevent the true verdict of the people from being rendered; but, conjoined with other impositions, they lead us irresistibly to the conclusion that, could an honest expression of the public will have been obtained, it would have been in favor of Mr. Clay by a vast preponderance, not only of the intelligence, but of the legal voters of the country. Indeed, had the illegal votes that were polled in the State of New-York alone been cast aside, Mr. Clay would have been the President of the United States. We shall have more to say hereafter of the means by which the legitimate expression of the popular will was rendered null and void.

The effect of this great defeat upon the Whig party was disheartening in the extreme. You would have thought some stupendous public calamity had occurred, to have seen the signs of deep, sincere grief written upon the majority of honest, intelligent faces. Manifestations of sorrow and of attachment the most touching were offered to Mr. Clay. A profound sigh seemed to be wrung from the nation's heart. Tears, such as Cato might have wept, were shed from manly eyes; and many of its truest friends began to despair of the republic. Innumerable were the letters from all parts of the country, filled with patriotic regrets, that found their way to Ashland. Most of these were from personal strangers; some from acquaintances.

"I have sustained many severe losses of dear friends," writes one; "but nothing has hurt me like this. Oh, God! is there no constitutional provision by which illegal votes can be purged out, and the legally-elected President restored to this nation?"

"I have thought for three or four days," says another correspondent, "that I would write you; but, really, I am unmanned. All is gone! I see nothing but despair depicted in every countenance. I confess that nothing has happened to shake my confidence in our ability to sustain a free government so much as this. A cloud of gloom hangs over the future. May God save the country!"

Another writes: "What a wound has been inflicted upon the honor and interests of the country! I pray God that truth may yet prevail, and our republican institutions be saved."

"I write with an aching heart," is the language of another letter, "and ache it must. God Almighty save us! Although our hearts are broken and bleeding, and our bright hopes are crushed, we feel proud of our candidate. God bless you! Your countrymen do bless you. All know how to appreciate the man who has stood in the first rank of American patriots. Though unknown to you, you are by no means a stranger to me."

An American in London writes, under date of November 27, 1844: "I will not lose a moment in conveying to you the heartfelt emotion, amazement, and grief, with which I received the news, just arrived, of the result of the presidential election. Great God! is it possible? Have our people given this astonishing, this alarming proof, of the madness to

which party frenzy can carry them? The hopes of the wise and the good, in the New and the Old World, rested upon you. But my heart is sick. May God for ever bless you!"

These extracts will convey to the future reader but a feeble impression of that general feeling of chagrin and despondency which was manifested throughout the United States at the result of the election of 1844. It was not a feeling, the offspring of selfish disappointment, of wounded pride, or defeated partizanship; but one arising from regrets the most purely patriotic and disinterested that our fallible nature can cherish—regrets springing from the most devoted love of country, the most single-hearted attachment to our system of government, the most entire faith in the goodness and worth of republican liberty. Letters without number from the mothers and daughters of the land were also addressed to Mr. Clay, indicative of the widespread affliction which had been produced by his defeat. Numerous testimonials of the unabated affection and admiration with which he was regarded were presented. The ladies of Virginia held meetings and formed an association, at the head of which was Mrs. Lucy Barbour, for procuring by voluntary subscriptions a statue to his honor. Their efforts were crowned with the most prompt and complete success. Addresses from large bodies of his fellow-citizens in every State of the Union bore to him the fullest assurance that he was still first in their esteem, and that the untoward result of the contest had not affected their convictions of the fact that a large majority of the legal voters of the United States were in favor of him and his policy.

The presidential electors of Kentucky, having discharged the duty intrusted to them by the people, determined, before separating, to wait upon Mr. Clay in a body, and tender him a declaration of their high esteem for him as a private citizen, and their undiminished confidence in his exalted patriotism and superior statesmanship. No public notice had been given of their intention to visit Ashland, and Mr. Clay himself was not made acquainted with it until a few hours before their arrival. He met them at his door, and, after an exchange of greetings, Judge Underwood, on behalf of the electors, addressed him in a brief and eloquent speech, to which Mr. Clay responded. Both the address and the reply possess such intrinsic and enduring interest, that we copy them entire:

"MR. CLAY—I have been selected by the members of our electoral college to say to you, for each one of us, that we have come to offer you the homage of our personal regard and profound respect. In this work of the heart, many of your neighbors have likewise come to unite with us. On yesterday, at Frankfort, we performed our official duty in obedience to the will of the people of Kentucky, by voting unanimously for yourself and Theodore Frelinghuysen to fill the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

"The machinations of your enemies, their frauds upon the elective franchise, and their duplicity with the people, in promulgating opposite principles in different sections, have defeated your election.

"We have no hope of preferment at your hands, which can tempt us to flatter, nor can the pen of proscription intimidate us in speaking the truth. Under existing circumstances it gratifies us to take you by the hand, and to unite, as we do most cordially, in expressing the sentiments of our hearts and of

those we represent in regard to your personal character and political principles.

"Your past services are so interwoven with the history of our country for the last forty years, that malice and envy cannot prevent succeeding generations from dwelling on your name with admiration and gratitude. Your example will illuminate the path of future statesmen, when those who hate and revile you are forgotten, or are only remembered, like the incendiary who burnt the temple, for the evil they have done.

"To you the election has terminated without personal loss; but to the nation, in our judgment, the injury is incalculable. God grant that the Confederacy may not hereafter mourn over the result in dismembered fragments!

"While your enemies have not attempted to detract from your intellectual character, they have with untiring malice attacked your moral reputation and endeavored to destroy it. The verbal slanders and printed libels employed as means to accomplish political objects, have stained the character of our country and its institutions more than they have injured yours.

"In your high personal character, in your political principles, and unrivalled zeal and ability to carry them out, may be found the strong motives for our anxious efforts to secure your election. The protection of American labor, a national currency connected with a fiscal agent for the government, the distribution among the States of the proceeds of the public lands, further constitutional restrictions upon executive power and patronage, and a limitation upon the eligibility of the President for a second term, were measures which, under your administration, we hoped to mature and bring into practical operation. By your effort they have been endangered, if not for ever lost.

"But we will not speculate on coming events. If things work well, we shall find consolation in the general prosperity. If apprehended evils come, we are not responsible; and, retaining our principles, we shall enjoy the happy reflection of having done our duty.

"In the shades of Ashland may you long continue to enjoy peace, quiet, and the possession of those great faculties which have rendered you the admiration of your friends and the benefactor of your country. And when at last death shall demand its victim, while Kentucky will contain your ashes, rest assured that old and faithful friends—those who knowing you longest, loved you best—will cherish your memory and defend your reputation."

The reply of Mr. Clay, as it appears in the Lexington Observer of December 10, 1844, was as follows:

"I am greatly obliged, gentlemen, by the kindness toward me, which has prompted this visit from the Governor, the presidential electors of Kentucky, and some of my fellow-citizens in private life. And I thank you, sir (Mr. Underwood), their organ on this occasion, for the feeling and eloquent address which you have just done me the honor to deliver. I am under the greatest obligations to the people of Kentucky. During more than forty years of my life they have demonstrated their confidence and affection toward me in every variety of form. This last and crowning evidence of their long and faithful attachment, exhibited in the vote which, in their behalf, you gave yesterday at the seat of the state government, as the electoral college of Kentucky, fills me with overflowing gratitude. But I should fail to express the feelings of my heart if I did not also offer my profound and grateful acknowledgments to the other States which have united with Kentucky in the endeavor to elect me to the Chief Magistracy of the Union, and to the million and a quarter of freemen, embracing so much virtue, intelligence, and patriotism, who, wherever residing, have directed strenuous and enthusiastic exertions to the same object.

"Their effort has been unavailing, and the issue of the election has not corresponded with their anxious hopes and confident expectations. You have, sir, assigned some of the causes which you suppose have occasioned the result. I will not trust myself to speak of them. My duty is that of perfect submission to an event which is now irrevocable.

"I will not affect indifference to the personal concern I had in the political contest just terminated; but, unless I am greatly self-deceived, the principal attraction to me of the office of President of the United States arose out of the cherished hope that I might be an humble instrument in the hands of Providence to accomplish public good. I desired to see the former purity of the General Government restored, and to see dangers and evils which I sincerely believed encompassed it averted and remedied. I was anxious that the policy of the country, especially in the great department of domestic labor and industry, should be fixed and stable, that all might know how to regulate and accommodate their conduct. And, fully convinced of the wisdom of the public measures which you have enumerated, I hoped to live to witness, and to contribute to, their adoption and establishment.

"So far as respects any official agency of mine, it has been otherwise decreed, and I bow respectfully to the decree. The future course of the Government is altogether unknown, and wrapped in painful uncertainty. I shall not do the new Administration the injustice of condemning it in advance. On the contrary, I earnestly desire that, enlightened by its own reflections, and by a deliberate review of all the great interests of the country, and prompted by public opinion, the benefit may yet be secured of the practical execution of those principles and measures for which we have honestly contended; that peace and honor may be preserved; and that this young but great nation may be rendered harmonious, prosperous, and powerful.

"We are not without consolations under the event which has happened. The Whig party has fully and fairly exhibited to the country the principles and measures which it believed best adapted to secure our liberties and promote the common welfare. It has made, in their support, constant and urgent appeals to the reason and judgment of the people. For myself, I have the satisfaction to know that I have escaped a great and fearful responsibility; and that, during the whole canvass, I have done nothing inconsistent with the dictates of the purest honor. No mortal man is authorized to say that I held out to him the promise of any office or appointment whatever.

"What now is the duty of the Whig party? I venture to express an opinion with the greatest diffidence. The future is enveloped in a veil impenetrable by human eyes. I cannot contemplate it without feelings of great discouragement. But I know of only one safe rule in all the vicissitudes of human life, public and private, and that is, conscientiously to satisfy ourselves of what is right, and firmly and undeviatingly to pursue it under all trials and circumstances, confiding in the Great Ruler of the Universe for ultimate success. The Whigs are deliberately convinced of the truth and wisdom of the principles and measures which they have espoused. It seems, therefore, to me that they should persevere in contending for them; and that, adhering to their separate and distinct organization, they should treat all who have the good of their country in view with respect and sympathy, and invite their co-operation in securing the patriotic objects which it has been their aim and purpose to accomplish.

"I heartily thank you, sir, for your friendly wishes for my happiness, in the retirement which henceforward best becomes me. Here I hope to enjoy peace and tranquility, seeking faithfully to perform, in the walks of private life, whatever duties may yet appertain to me. And I shall never cease, while life remains, to look with lively interest and deep solicitude

tude, upon the movement and operations of our free system of government, and to hope that, under the smiles of an All-wise Providence, our republic may be ever just, honorable, prosperous, and great."

We learn from an eye-witness that the scene, during the delivery of these remarks, was at once painful and interesting. While Mr. Clay was expressing his grateful regards for his friends, who had stood up to shield him from the malignant calumnies of his enemies, and the patriotic hope that the result of the election, in the hands of an All-wise Providence, might be overruled for good to the country, every eye was suffused with manly tears. The old men, who had known him in his earlier career, and had seen him come forth unharmed from amid the arrows of calumny and detraction which had been unsparingly aimed at him, and the unceasing though puerile efforts which had been made to arrest his progress—the young men, who had been taught in infancy to lisp his name, and to revere him as his country's benefactor—wept together. "During Mr. Clay's remarks we occupied a position immediately in front of him; and as we watched his expressive countenance, and saw the deep emotion which at times almost overpowered him, and well nigh choked his utterance as he gave expression to the sentiments which have ever filled his bosom to the exclusion of every selfish feeling, we felt a conviction of his greatness, which, with all our former admiration of the man, we had never before realized."

The following was the numerical result of the election of 1844: For CLAY—Massachusetts, 12; Rhode Island, 4; Connecticut, 6; Vermont, 6; New-Jersey, 7; Delaware, 3; Maryland, 8; North Carolina, 11; Tennessee, 13; Kentucky, 12; Ohio, 23.—Total, 105.

For POLK—Maine, 9; New-Hampshire, 6; New-York, 36; Pennsylvania, 26; Virginia, 17; South Carolina, 9; Georgia, 10; Alabama, 9; Mississippi, 6; Louisiana, 6; Indiana, 12; Illinois, 9; Missouri, 6; Michigan, 5; Arkansas, 3.—Total, 170.

The official popular vote showed for CLAY, 1,297,912; for POLK, 1,336,196; for BIRNEY, the candidate of the "Liberty party" (sad misnomer!) as they called themselves, 62,127. Mr. Polk's majority over Mr. Clay, exclusive of South Carolina, where the presidential electors were chosen by the Legislature, was 38,284. If to this be added 20,000 as the majority of Mr. Polk in South Carolina, his aggregate majority over Mr. Clay was 58,284. Place the Birney vote (62,127) by the side of this, and it will be seen that Mr. Polk did not receive the votes of a majority of the people. Mr. Clay received more votes by upward of twenty thousand than General Harrison, with all his popularity and the immense efforts of the Whigs, received in 1840. Take into the account the large abstraction from the Whig ranks in the State of New-York by Birney, the alienations produced by the "Native" party, and other causes, to which we shall more particularly allude, and it will be seen that the Whigs had abundant cause to confide in the strength of their candidate with the people, and to feel assured that but for the frauds, treacheries, and deceptions, that were practised, their triumph would have been as complete as their cause was just.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How the Whigs were defeated—The Foreign Vote—Native Americanism—The Liberty Party and Mr. Birney—False and contradictory Issues—Misrepresentations—Frauds—Opposition to a Registry Law presumptive Proof—Public Confidence in Mr. Clay.

THE causes of the defeat of the Whigs in the presidential election of 1844 can be distinctly traced without the aid of hypothesis and speculation. Foremost among them we may cite the foreign influence—which, operating principally in the State of New-York, was also powerfully felt in Pennsylvania and other States. Early in the canvass, Mr. Brownson, a recent convert to the Roman Catholic religion, the editor of a Quarterly Review published in Boston, and a writer of no mean abilities, gave the key-note for misrepresentations, which were echoed, with most malignant effect, from Maine to Louisiana. Of Mr. Frelinghuysen he wrote in the following terms:

"Mr. Frelinghuysen is not only a Whig in the worst sense of the term, but he is also the very impersonation of narrow-minded, ignorant, conceited bigotry—a man who boldly attacks religious liberty, demands the unhallowed union of church and state, and contends that the Government should legally recognize the religion of the majority, and declare whatever goes counter to that to be *contra bonos mores*. He concentrates in himself the whole 'spirit of 'Native Americanism' and 'No Popery,' which displayed itself so brilliantly in the recent burnings of the Catholic dwellings, seminaries, and churches, in the city of Philadelphia."

Invectives like this, false and flagrant, carried with them still some speciousness. Mr. Frelinghuysen was well understood to be identified with a sect more earnest, perhaps, than any other in their denunciations of popery and its dangers. We all know the potency of religious prejudices, and how high above mere secular interests a believer will place the interests of the church. The Roman Catholics, embracing probably nearly nine tenths of our adopted citizens and foreign immigrants, were jealously alive to suspicions and apprehensions such as Mr. Brownson and others, who had their confidence, saw fit to instil. The recollection of General Harrison's death a month after his installation, and the consequent elevation of the Vice-President to his seat, were fresh in everybody's mind. "Why may not Mr. Frelinghuysen become your President, and, in his Presbyterian zeal, burn your churches and drive away your priests?" was the question asked of thousands of foreigners, legal and illegal voters, with irresistible effect.

A Native American party, too, had suddenly sprung into consequence about this time. The assiduous attempts of the Locofocos to secure by any means, however disorganizing, the foreign vote—the repeated frauds perpetrated by foreigners, falsely claiming to be naturalized, at the polls—the gregarious and anti-American attitude assumed by bodies of them, here and there—the consideration that hordes of immigrants, utterly ignorant of our political system, its workings, and its wants, unable perhaps even to read and write, had it in their power, after a brief residence, to vote, while the intelligent American, with sympathies all awake to his country's interests, well versed in her history, and having a deep stake in her welfare, but who had not passed the age of twenty,

was debarred from the same privilege—facts and considerations like these had produced a powerful reaction in the minds of native citizens; and, in the States of New-York and Pennsylvania, had given rise to a party, undisciplined, badly organized, and deficient in influential leaders, but exercising great capacities of mischief. All the odium produced in the minds of adopted citizens and foreign illegal voters by the acts and denunciations of this party was transferred, most unjustly, to the Whigs and Mr. Clay, while at the same time no measure of support was rendered to them by the new organization. Mr. Clay had never identified himself in any degree with the principles of this party. His course toward foreigners and adopted citizens had always been one of extreme liberality. The Irish and Germans had always found in him a ready champion and a true friend. In his speeches in regard to the recognition of South American independence he had manifested a spirit the most magnanimous and tolerant toward the professors of the Roman Catholic belief; and yet now, through the insidious manœuvres of his opponents, were all the errors and all the prospective acts, threatened and imaginary, of "Nativism," converted to his injury!

The apprehension was studiously inculcated by the partizans of Mr. Polk, that the success of this faction was involved in that of Mr. Clay; that the consequence would be an immediate abolition or modification of the naturalization laws, greatly restricting the facilities of aliens for becoming voters. This apprehension had its effect even upon goodly numbers of adopted citizens, who had heretofore voted the Whig ticket. It also precipitated the naturalizing of thousands with the express purpose of opposing Nativism, and sent other thousands to the polls whose votes were in direct violation of the laws of the land. On a banner borne by the Irish of the sixth ward in the city of New-York, at one of their musters previous to the election, was the inscription, "Americans sha'n't rule us!"

These facts, it may be said, prove that a reform in our naturalization laws is much needed. On this subject we concur in the views of Mr. Webster, who declared that the preservation of the Government, and consequently the interests of all parties, clearly and strongly demand a thorough reformation of these laws. But in regard to the question of remedying the evil, Mr. Clay and the Whig party stood, and continue to stand, no more committed than their opponents. The Native American faction was composed of members of both parties; and the attempt to make the Whigs responsible for their crude policy, their abortive intrigues, and their spasmodic movements, was the basest injustice, while at the same time it was but too effectual in spreading alarm and misconception among our foreign population. Everywhere pains were taken by the opposite party to produce the impression that the Whig and Native American parties were identical.

Another obvious cause of the disastrous result of the election was the conduct of the Abolition or Liberty party, which derived nine tenths of its strength from the Whig ranks. There was a time when Mr. James G. Birney might have secured the election of Mr. Clay, and prevented the long train of predicted calamities and crimes, accompanied by bloodshed and affliction, which succeeded the an-

nexation of Texas. But Mr. Birney, the friend of "liberty" and enemy of annexation, after coyly playing fast and loose with both parties, threw his influence into the scale for Mr. Polk, and accepted a nomination for the Presidency, with the undenied object of aiming a blow at the Whigs.

It seemed to be by a fatal perversity that while at the north Mr. Clay was represented as an ultra supporter of the institution of slavery, at the south he should be described as an abolitionist; although, to use his own language, he was "neither one nor the other." In a private letter, which was purloined and published, bearing date September 18th, 1844, and addressed to Cassius M. Clay, he says: "As we have the same surname, and are, moreover, related, great use is made at the south against me, of whatever falls from you. There, you are even represented as being my son; hence the necessity of the greatest circumspection, and especially that you avoid committing me. You are watched wherever you go, and every word you publicly express will be tortured and perverted as my own are. After all, I am afraid you are too sanguine in supposing that any considerable number of the Liberty men can be induced to support me." The event proved that Mr. Clay's sagacity was not at fault in this apprehension. We have already shown that the Whig votes thrown away upon Mr. Birney were more than sufficient to have prevented the election of Mr. Polk. There is a class of impracticable theorists who, while they are ready enough to claim and to partake all the benefits of our confederate system of government, would yet trample upon those principles of compromise on which it was established and must rest. There is some consistency in the conduct of the disorganizers who advocate the dissolution of this noble confederacy because they cannot at once remould to their taste the character of our people and our institutions; but the men who profess a love of the Union and a desire for its perpetuity, and at the same time pursue a course practically fatal to its honor and its interests, because their own political ideal is unattainable, are the most dangerous foes of the republic. It was by the recreancy of such men, professing Whig principles, and following Locofoco practice, that Mr. Clay's elevation to the Presidency was prevented. Alas! they cannot give us back the gallant lives and the untarnished honor which their error has cost the country.

Calumny did its worst in regard to the private and public character of Mr. Clay, as we have already seen; * but the political duplicity resorted to by the partizans of Mr. Polk was productive of far greater mischief. Everywhere at the south, Mr. Polk's claims were based upon the ground of his opposition to a protective Tariff, and his pledges in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. At the north he was represented as a better friend to the Tariff than Mr. Clay; while the issue of annexation was repudiated wherever its unpopularity rendered such a course expedient. Silas Wright, a decided opponent of the Texas project in the Senate of the United States, was made the Locofoco candidate for

* The course of the Whigs toward Mr. Polk presented a most remarkable contrast to that practised by their opponents toward Mr. Clay. The public acts of the former were alone criticised and canvassed. There was no attempt to hunt up small personalities and scurrilous slanders against him.

Governor in New-York, by which the people were blinded, and the friends and enemies of annexation in the party driven to unite in support of Mr. Polk. Thus, while annexation was the party cry in some sections, and, in fact, the great question of the election, care was taken to disclaim it so far in other sections that the people should be utterly deceived as to the immiunence of the measure.

In the resolutions of the Convention which nominated Mr. Polk, there was no allusion, save a very equivocal one, to the Tariff. This simply declared that "justice and sound policy forbid the Federal Government to foster one branch of industry to the detriment of another, or to cherish the interests of one portion to the injury of another portion of our common country"—one of those axiomatic declarations, which, it is obvious, any party might safely adopt. The example of disingenuousness thus given at the Convention was faithfully copied and improved upon by political managers everywhere. At the south, the declaration was made to mean everything; at the north, nothing. Mr. Polk was quoted as the most strenuous free-trade philosopher in one place, while in another he was depicted on banners and in wood-cuts, surrounded by emblems of domestic industry, and extending a most paternal measure of protection to American products and manufactures. In the slaveholding States, he was represented as the enemy of all tariffs; while, in the wool-growing and manufacturing States, it was promised that he would favor the protective policy, and, if he did not extend still more protection to domestic industry, would at least leave the existing Tariff untouched. The success of these contrary manœuvres fully answered the expectations of their authors. In Pennsylvania they were especially effectual in deceiving the people. Mr. Polk received large majorities in counties the most extensively opposed to any disturbance of the Tariff. Indeed, throughout the States of Pennsylvania,* New-York, and New-Jersey, wherever the majority was supposed to be favorable to the policy, the Locofoco banner bore the inscription of "Protection." By such acts of chicanery were the people swindled out of their votes!

The great and sufficient cause, however, of the defeat of Mr. Clay, were the gross, the undeniable frauds practised by agents of the opposite party at the polls. We have spoken of the assiduous attempts made to excite the alarm and the prejudices of foreigners against the Whigs. The effect was to enlist them almost to a man in opposition to Mr. Clay;

* When certain documents, proving Mr. Polk's opposition to the Tariff of 1842, were about being circulated in Pennsylvania, the *Lycoming Gazette* of October 19, 1844, published at Williamsport, *Lycoming* county, denounced them in these terms: "Burn the vile slanders, the product of British gold. Warn your neighbors of the imposition; and, when the day of election arrives, teach these hirelings that the Democracy of *Lycoming* are too intelligent to be gulled, and too independent to be bought. By voting for James K. Polk and George M. Dallas, you oppose the creation of another national bank, and *insure the continuance of the present Tariff.*" Mr. Polk himself set a most anti-democratic example of disingenuousness. When waited upon shortly before the election, by a committee, who wished to know whether he was in favor of modifying the Tariff, he declined making any reply. In a letter dated June 19, 1844, to J. K. Kane, of Philadelphia, he had favored the opinion that he was, in the words of the *Harrisburg Union* (*Locofoco*), "in favor of a judicious revenue Tariff, affording the amplest incidental protection to American industry."

The month before the presidential election there was an election for Governor and other State officers in Maryland. The result in the city of Baltimore showed an increase of votes far beyond any previous ratio. Within a few weeks of the election not fewer than a thousand naturalization papers had been issued. And it was ascertained that not over forty of the whole number of persons for whom they were procured would vote the Whig ticket! Several convictions for frauds upon the ballot-box took place in the courts, all the culprits being of one political complexion. A poor woman confessed that she had loaned the naturalization papers of her deceased husband to *seventeen different persons*, receiving a dollar in every instance for the use of them. Here were seventeen fraudulent votes accounted for! What a farce seems the elective franchise where such profanations of the freeman's right can be practised—by persons, too, just landed on our shores, having no stake in our institutions, no patriotic associations with the past history of the country, no knowledge of our public men and public interests, and hardly able to explain the difference between a monarchical and republican form of government!

A salutary restraint was put upon these fraudulent voters by the conviction and punishment of a few of the offenders; and there was consequently the remarkable falling off of 722 votes in the Locofoco vote at the municipal election, which immediately followed, while the Whig vote exhibited a diminution of only three. The Whig vote at the gubernatorial election was 7,968; the Locofoco vote, 9,190; the latter showing an increase of 1,892 over the election for mayor of the preceding year, when the largest vote ever thrown was polled, while the Whig increase was only 368!

In Pennsylvania there were evidences of fraud no less conclusive. At Pittsburgh, after the presidential election, twenty-four bills of indictment for perjury and subornation of perjury in taking out naturalization papers, to be used for the benefit of Mr. Polk, were found. There were twenty-five prosecutions, in only one of which was there deficiency of proofs. A number of counties polled more votes than they contained male inhabitants according to the census of 1840. If that census was correct, Pike county had but 848 male inhabitants: it polled 920 votes; Monroe county, with 2,034, polled 2,220; Tioga, with 3,342, polled 3,367; Perry, with 3,500, polled 3,671; Columbia, with 5,033, polled 5,108; and Potter, with 732, polled 794 votes. It is a little remarkable that in no one of the strong Whig counties of the State, was any such ratio of increase exhibited. This marvellous multiplication of voters excited naturally no little surprise; for it seemed quite unaccountable that in some of the Locofoco counties there should be more voters than adult males, while in all the Whig counties the reverse should be invariably the case!

In Georgia, from the tax-list and the census, it was estimated that the number of legal voters at the election of 1844 was 78,611. What was the result? The number of votes cast was 86,247, leaving 7,636 which can only be accounted for by the supposition of fraud. An examination of details will show that this presumptive unlawful increase is, in every instance, on the side of the Locofocos. The lawful vote of Per-

syth, Lumpkin, Habersham, and Franklin counties. was estimated at 3,202; but they actually returned 1,821 for Clay and 4,014 for Polk—in all, 5,835! In the four Whig counties of Madison, Elbert, Lincoln, and Columbia, the lawful vote was 3,105: the votes returned were 3,123—of which Clay received 2,124, and Polk 999. The Locofocos directed all their efforts to throwing an overwhelming vote in those counties where they already had the ascendancy. Elbert, the strongest Whig county in the State, gave five votes less than it was entitled to, according to the estimate to which we have referred.

The total vote of Louisiana in the exciting contest of 1840 was 18,912. In that of 1844 it was 26,295! The frauds here were monstrous and palpable. In the single parish of Plaquemines, the vote for Mr. Polk exceeded the whole number of white males of all ages in the parish in 1840, notwithstanding the property qualification exacted of voters. At the investigations afterward instituted, the steward of the steamboat "Agnes," *John Gibney*, swore that the boat went down from New-Orleans with a full load of passengers, under the charge of Judge Leonard (the great man of Plaquemines); that he himself, a minor, not residing in Plaquemines, being persuaded by the captain, voted three times at different polls in that parish—every time for Polk and Dallas. *Dr. J. B. Wilkinson*, a voter of Plaquemines, swore that he noticed that the polls were opened before the legal hour, and were then surrounded by a crowd of *strangers*, one of whom he ventured to challenge; but, as the clerk reached out the book, the sheriff pulled it away, declaring that nobody should be sworn! After this the foreign votes went in pell-mell. *Alfred Vail*, a passenger, and *E. Seymour Austin*, pilot of the "Agnes," swore to a state of facts within their knowledge similar to that sworn to by John Gibney. *Albert Savage*, engineer of the steamboat "Planter," swore that his boat went down with one hundred and forty Locofocos from New-Orleans, who voted after the fashion above described; but when he offered a vote—it being a *Clay* one—it was refused, the sheriff saying he would swear him! *Paul Corman* testified that he went with other Whigs to vote, but they were deterred by seeing Charles Bruland driven out of the voting-room, wounded, bloody, and without his hat, having been beaten by the sheriff for offering a Whig vote. There being a large Locofoco mob about the polls, threatening the few Whigs who approached, the latter were obliged to leave, save in a few instances, without voting, so that the recorded vote of Plaquemines stood—for Clay, 37; for Polk, 1,007! The Locofoco majority in the State was 699; and if the vote of the Plaquemines precinct had been admitted to be as at the election of 1843, Mr. Clay would have carried the State.

In his remarks at Faneuil Hall on the result of the election, Mr. Webster said: "I believe it to be an unquestionable fact that masters of vessels, having brought over emigrants from Europe, have, within thirty days of their arrival, seen those very persons carried up to the polls, and give their votes for the highest offices in the national and state governments. Such voters of course exercise no intelligence, and, indeed, no volition of their own. They can know nothing, either of the question at issue, or of the candidates proposed. They are mere instruments, used

by unprincipled men—and made competent instruments only by the accumulation of crime upon crime. Now it seems to me impossible that every honest man, and every good citizen, every true lover of liberty and the constitution, every real friend of the country, would not desire to see an end put to these enormous abuses." A reform, Mr. Webster added, was just as important to the rights of foreigners, regularly and fairly naturalized among us, as it is to the rights of native-born American citizens.

The total vote in the State of New-York, in the presidential election of 1844, was—for Clay, 232,473; for Polk, 237,588; for Birney, 15,812: in all, 485,808. The majority for Polk over Clay was 5,115; the majority for Clay and Birney over Polk, 10,632. In the city of New-York, and the counties of Erie and St. Lawrence, the most remarkable increase in the Locofoco vote was exhibited, and here the largest amount of fraud was perpetrated. For weeks before the election the courts in the city of New-York were crowded by the applicants for naturalization, sent there by the industrious Locofoco committees. One of the daily papers gave the following account of a scene presented the day before the election: "Yesterday noon, more than three hundred aliens had crowded about the doors of the Common Pleas in the City Hall, when the room having been emptied through the windows, and the doors reopened for fresh admissions, such a scene was witnessed as has rarely been exhibited in an American courtroom. The doors were violently thrust in, and the avalanche of human beings came onward with such impetuosity as to overthrow everything in its course. Coats were torn off, hats were trodden under foot, men were crowded and jammed until almost lifeless, and, in two or three cases, half an hour elapsed before they had recovered themselves sufficiently to speak. Outside of the court-room the crowd of foreigners was clamorous for admission, and it required the physical force of six officers to make an opening for one of the judges. The court-room was filled and emptied not less than four times during the day, and among the crowd were a number of Irish women." In the city of New-York, notwithstanding an admitted defection from the Locofoco ranks to the Whig of at least 5,000, the Locofoco increase from 1840 was 6,361; in St. Lawrence county, it was 1,126, while the Whig vote was diminished 131; in Erie, it was 1,359, while the Whig increase was only 122.

All the convictions for fraud at the polls in this election were upon one political side, as was all the presumptive evidence of fraud. In the city of New-York, the conspiracy for swindling the people bore the marks of deliberate trickery and systematic corruption. There is one plain fact which is a conclusive answer to those who, in their ignorance, might question the assertion that the Locofocos are the party which alone avails itself of these infamous outrages on the elective franchise. There is a simple remedy for the evil—a registry law. In the cities of Massachusetts this law is found to operate as an efficient check to all illegal voting; and in Massachusetts we see none of that inordinate increase in the Locofoco vote that was exhibited in other places, where no such restrictions are established. The facilities for illegal voting in the city of New-York are enormous. A single individual, by dint of hard

swearing and adroit management, can vote at all the voting-booths in the city, numbering upward of sixty! A well-drilled band of a hundred men might easily cast upward of a thousand votes in one day! A registry law is the only sufficient means of preventing the evil. Compel every legal voter in every ward to have his name enrolled on a printed list of voters some days previous to the election, so that time may be given to the ward officers to compare the lists, and satisfy themselves of their correctness, and you provide a safeguard against the profanation of the ballot-box. Which party has solicitously asked for such a safeguard, and which has repudiated it? Which party, after repeated exertions, procured a registry law, and which party, the moment they came into power, abrogated it with an indecent haste? The replies to these questions fix the stigma of fraud and corruption where it belongs. The Locofoco party of New-York have ever shown themselves the reckless and inveterate opponents of a registry law. They denounce it as anti-democratic. And why? Because it takes the poor man from his work to go and register his name, and presupposes a certain amount of information on his part as to the requisitions of the law, for the absence of which information he ought not to be disfranchised. This is the sum and substance of Locofoco argument against a registry law; as if it were less democratic to secure the majority, by the only efficient safeguard, from being cheated, than to require voters to go through the simple form of registering their names a fitting time before the opening of the polls! Although Locofocoism may arrive at its conclusions by logic like this, it is obviously at war with sound democracy. The opposition which the party has always maintained in New-York to a registry law, is proof presumptive that the charges of fraud brought by the Whigs are not unfounded.

The system of betting on elections, always objectionable, invariably operates in favor of the least scrupulous party. The money wagered is forestalled and parcelled out among political hacks, whose pay depending on the successful result of their services, they are incited to exertions the most reckless to compass their ends. Let the Whigs always beware of betting with their antagonists. "It is naught, and it cannot come to good." The money foolishly lost in this way by Whigs at the election of 1844 went to requite the services of thousands of those mercenary politicians who are ever ready to attach themselves to the party which pays the best.

In the State of New-York alone there were cast spurious votes enough to defeat the election of Mr. Clay. In Louisiana, Georgia, and Pennsylvania, similar frauds were perpetrated on a smaller scale. Had the true voice of the majority of legal voters in those States been heard, the result would have been favorable to the Whigs. But misrepresentation, brute force, and political immorality, prevailed. The subject is an ungracious one to dwell upon. The history of the frauds of 1844 is a dark chapter in our annals. Party profligacy then exhausted its resources in the attainment of its ends.

We have already described with what renewed confidence and attachment the country turned to Mr. Clay after that defeat. "I have been," he writes, the 25th of April, 1845, "in spite of unexpected discomfitures, the object of honors and of

compliments usually rendered only to those who are successful and victorious in the great enterprises of mankind. To say nothing of other demonstrations, the addresses and communications which I have received since the election from every quarter, from collective bodies and individuals, and from both sexes, conveying sentiments and feelings of the warmest regard and strongest friendship, and exploring the issue of the election, would fill a volume. I have been quite as much, if not more, affected by them than I was by any disappointment of personal interests of my own in the event of the contest."

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Consequences of the Election.—The War—How commenced.—Mr. Gallatin's Statement.—Mr. Clay on the War—Comparison with the Last War.—The Twenty-Ninth Congress—State of the Country.—The Tariff and the Sub-Treasury, &c.

THE public acts of Mr. Clay exhibit unequivocally the principles by which he would have been guided and the policy he would have pursued in the event of his election. They are the principles and the policy to which the Whig party owed, and continues to owe, all its cohesion and all its power. A triumph without them would not be a Whig triumph. It might benefit a few office-seekers and professional politicians here and there, but it would be barren of all good to the people at large.

In the opinion of Mr. Clay, the policy of the country in regard to the protection of American industry seemed, previous to the election of 1844, to be rapidly acquiring a permanent and fixed character. Yielding to the joint influence of their own reflections and experience, the slave States were fast subscribing to the justice and expediency of a Tariff for revenue, with discriminations for protection. At such an auspicious moment, beguiled by the misrepresentations which proclaimed Mr. Polk as equally a friend to the Tariff with Mr. Clay, the great States of Pennsylvania and New-York, both friendly to the protective policy, allowed it to be periled and impaired by the ascendancy of a hostile administration.

The distribution of the proceeds of the sales of the public lands was another measure which the triumph of the Whigs would have secured; and if the great national inheritance of those lands is not wasted in a few years by graduation and other projects of alienation, it must be through the adoption of a system kindred to that which Mr. Clay has consistently advocated. Internal improvements, the removal of obstructions from our rivers and harbors, the enlargement of all those facilities which contribute to the comfort, the prosperity, and the dignity of mankind, would have been embraced in that comprehensive and generous policy which has always found a ready champion in Mr. Clay. Instead of a barren and unproductive war, the pernicious consequences of which will be felt to a remote posterity, we should have had the money of the nation expended upon objects which would have been permanently productive and beneficent. In return for all the money and blood lavished in the unrighteous war with Mexico, what can we show? Territory, which we could have acquired by peaceful means at a tenth part of the expenditure! But what amount of unrequited territory, or of opulent spoils, could require the despo-

lation inflicted upon thousands of hearts by the ravages of war?—

"Why praise we, prodigal of fame,
The rage that sets the world on flame?
The future Muse his brow shall bind,
Whose godlike bounty spares mankind.
For those whom bloody garlands crown,
The brass may breathe, the marble frown;
To him, through every rescued land,
Ten thousand living trophies stand." ●

Had the true wish of the country prevailed, we should have had no war with Mexico, no national debt, no repeal of the Tariff of 1842, no Sub-Treasury, no imputation against us, by the united voice of all the nations of the earth, of a spirit of aggression and inordinate territorial aggrandizement.

At the commencement of the second session of the twenty-eighth Congress (December, 1844), the acting President, Mr. Tyler, officially announced to the two houses that "a controlling majority of the people, and a large majority of the States," had declared in favor of the immediate annexation of Texas. "Instructions," he added, "have thus come to both branches of Congress from their respective constituents, in terms the most emphatic. It is the will of both the people and the States, that Texas shall be annexed to the Union, promptly and immediately." He remarked further: "The two Governments having already agreed, through their respective organs, on the terms of annexation, I would recommend their adoption by Congress, in the form of a joint resolution, or act, to be perfected and made binding on the two countries, when adopted in like manner by the Government of Texas."

The subject of annexation was soon taken up in Congress and discussed with great zeal on both sides; and finally, after the public mind had been intensely agitated in regard to it, the recommendation of Mr. Tyler was adopted; and early in March, 1845, a joint resolution for annexing Texas was passed and approved. The proposition was accepted by Texas, through her Congress and a Convention; and the annexation project was complete. The incidents which followed may be briefly summed up. Mr. Polk was no sooner seated in the presidential chair, than the consequences, which Mr. Clay had predicted, and Mexico had threatened, began to develop themselves. The Texas we annexed was "revolutionary Texas." There was, moreover, a disputed boundary between her and Mexico. In anticipation of the refusal of Mexico to receive our Minister, Mr. Slidell, the administration gave directions to General TAYLOR to take position on the west bank of the Rio Grande. Congress was in session at the time; but Mr. Polk did not see fit to consult Congress in regard to measures which must necessarily lead to a collision between the two countries. It was only by rumors and reports that our Representatives knew that those measures were maturing until the war burst forth, and the work of blood commenced in earnest. The territory into which the President, of his own caprice, had thus ordered our troops, was one to which neither Texas nor the United States had any just claim—a territory in possession of a nation with which we were at peace! In the language of the octogenarian Albert Gallatin, "the republic of Texas had not a shadow of right to the territory adjacent to the left bank of the lower portion of the Rio del Norte. Though

she claimed, she never had actually exercised jurisdiction over any portion of it. The Mexicans were the sole inhabitants, and in actual possession of that district. Its forcible occupation, therefore, by the army of the United States, was, according to the acknowledged law of nations, as well as in fact, an act of open hostility and war. The resistance of the Mexicans to that invasion was legitimate; and therefore the war was unprovoked by them, and commenced by the United States."

The story is lucidly told by Mr. Clay in his speech at Lexington, the 13th of November, 1847—a speech to which we shall have occasion to allude again. In this he says:

"How did we unhappily get involved in this war? It was predicted as the consequence of the annexation of Texas to the United States. If we had not Texas, we should have no war. The people were told that if that event happened, war would ensue. They were told that the war between Texas and Mexico had not been terminated by a treaty of peace; that Mexico still claimed Texas as a revolted province; and that, if we received Texas in our Union, we took along with her the war existing between her and Mexico. And the minister of Mexico formally announced to the Government at Washington that his nation would consider the annexation of Texas to the United States as producing a state of war. But all this was denied by the partizans of annexation. They insisted that we should have no war, and even imputed to those who foretold it sinister motives for their groundless prediction.

"But, notwithstanding a state of virtual war necessarily resulted from the fact of annexation of one of the belligerents to the United States, actual hostilities might have been probably averted by prudence, moderation, and wise statesmanship. If General Taylor had been permitted to remain, where his own good sense prompted him to believe he ought to remain, at the point of Corpus Christi; and if a negotiation had been opened with Mexico, in a true spirit of amity and conciliation, war possibly might have been prevented. But, instead of this pacific and moderate course, while Mr. Slidell was bending, his way to Mexico with his diplomatic credentials, General Taylor was ordered to transport his cannon and to plant them in a warlike attitude opposite to Matamoros, on the east bank of the Rio Bravo, within the very disputed territory the adjustment of which was to be the object of Mr. Slidell's mission. What else could have transpired but a conflict of arms?

"Thus the war commenced; and the President, after having produced it, appealed to Congress. A bill was proposed to raise fifty thousand volunteers, and, in order to commit all who should vote for it, a preamble was inserted, falsely attributing the commencement of the war to the act of Mexico. I have no doubt of the patriotic motives of those who, after struggling to divest the bill of that flagrant error, found themselves constrained to vote for it. But I must say that no earthly consideration would have ever tempted or provoked me to vote for a bill with a palpable falsehood stamped on its face. Almost idolizing truth as I do, I never, never could have voted for that bill."

Our last war with Great Britain Mr. Clay characterizes as "a just war. Its great object, announced at the time, was free trade and sailors' rights against the intolerable and oppressive acts of British power on the ocean." He continues:

"How totally variant is the present war! This is no war of defence, but one unnecessary and of offensive aggression. It is Mexico that is defending her firesides, her castles, and her altars, not we. And how different also is the conduct of the Whig party of the present day from that of the major part of the Federal party during the war of 1812! Far

from interposing any obstacles to the prosecution of the war, if the Whigs in office are reproachable at all, it is for having lent too ready a facility to it, without careful examination into the objects of the war. And, out of office, who have rushed to the prosecution of the war with more ardor and alacrity than the Whigs? Whose hearts have bled more freely than those of the Whigs? Who have more occasion to mourn the loss of sons, husbands, brothers, fathers, than Whig parents, Whig wives, and Whig brothers, in this deadly and unprofitable strife?"

The twenty-ninth Congress, the first which met under the administration of Mr. Polk, found the country prosperous and contented. Under the equitable Tariff of 1842, domestic industry, in all its branches, received a wholesome measure of protection and encouragement. Our exports and imports exhibited neither an undue expansion, nor a contraction indicative of a public financial decline. The revenue of the country was steady, ample, and reliable; and the public debt, which Mr. Van Buren's administration had originated and fostered, was diminishing at the rate of millions annually. At length it seemed that the fluctuations to which the trade and industrial enterprise had been subjected, in consequence of Locofoco assaults upon the Tariff, were at an end; and that commerce and manufactures were about to be established on a stable basis. The bitter hostility of the south to the protective system was fast abating; and in the States of Georgia and Virginia factories were going up and new resources developing themselves, as if to strengthen, by the ties of interest, the sympathies of different sections of the country upon a subject which had been rife with portents of fraternal discord and disunion.

Undeterred by this spectacle of prosperity and harmony, the Administration laid its profane hands upon the Tariff of 1842. In its stead they gave us that of 1846. By this substitute, there is actual discrimination against the labor of the United States, and in favor of that of foreign countries. Owing to extraordinary causes, among which the famine in Europe and the war with Mexico are prominent, we have not yet fully realized the legitimate consequences of this disastrous retrograde movement in the policy of the country. But the utter failure of the Tariff of 1846 as a revenue measure has been conclusively shown on the floor of Congress. Notwithstanding the assurances of the President and the Secretary of the Treasury to the contrary, that Tariff, so far from augmenting the revenue of the country, exhibits a falling off from what the revenue would have been, under the Tariff of 1842, of \$12,284,954.* If the imports had remained at the average of the three preceding years, the revenue under the present Tariff would have amounted to only \$17,624,575; or \$9,283,531 less than the average of the three years under the Whig Tariff.

The extraordinary exportations made during the famine in Europe were attributed by the friends of the administration to the new Tariff; but "the simple fact that our increased export consisted almost entirely of provisions, shows us the true cause of our augmented imports and exports; and, unless the Tariff of 1846 had power over the seasons, and actually scattered blight, mildew, and famine, from its

wings, it had but little to do with our increased export for the year 1847." The export of cotton has been less by four millions of dollars during the year 1847 than the average exports of the last ten years; and tobacco a million and a half. If this reduction of the Tariff has caused an increase of exports, why, it is asked, has it not extended to some other articles than breadstuffs?

In a letter bearing date the 5th of June, 1846, Mr. Clay explained the whole practical philosophy of the protective principle in the following luminous remarks:

"The manufactures of Great Britain have reached a very high degree of perfection by means of her great capital, her improving skill and machinery, her cheap labor, and under a system of protection long, perseveringly, and vigorously enforced. She, moreover, possesses an immense advantage for the sale and distribution of her numerous manufactures, in her vast colonial possessions, from which those of foreign powers are either entirely excluded, or admitted on terms very unequally with her own. I am not therefore surprised that, under these favorable circumstances, Great Britain should herself be desirous to adopt, and to prevail on other nations to adopt, the principle of free trade. I shall be mistaken if any of the great nations of the continent should follow an example the practical effects of which will be so beneficial to her and so injurious to them. The propriety of affording protection to domestic manufactures, its degree, and its duration, depends upon the national condition and the actual progress which they have made. Each nation, of right, ought to judge for itself. I believe that history records no instance of any great and prosperous nation, which did not draw its essential supplies of food and raiment from within its own limits. If all nations were just commencing their career, or if their manufactures had all made equal progress, it might perhaps be wise to throw open the markets of the world to the freest and most unrestricted competition. But it is manifest that while the manufactures of some have acquired all the maturity and perfection of which they are susceptible, and those of others are yet in their infancy, struggling hard for existence, a free competition between them must redound to the advantage of the experienced and skilful, and to the injury of those who are just beginning to naturalize and establish the arts.

"No earthly gratification to the heart of a statesman can be greater than that of having contributed to the adoption of a great system of national policy, and of afterward witnessing its complete success in its practical operation. That gratification can be enjoyed by those who were instrumental in establishing the policy of protecting our domestic manufactures. Every promise which they made has been fulfilled. Every prediction which they hazarded as to the quality and quantity of the domestic supply, as to the reduction of prices, as to the effect of competition at home, and as to the abundance of the public revenue, has been fully realized. And it is no less remarkable that every counter prediction without exception of the opponents of the policy has, in the sequel, been entirely falsified.

"Without tracing particularly the operation of our earlier tariffs, adjusted both to the objects of revenue and protection, and coming down to the last, it seems to me that if there were ever a beneficial effect from any public measure fully demonstrated, it is, that the Tariff of 1842, beyond all controversy, relieved both the Government and the people of the United States from a state of pecuniary embarrassment bordering on bankruptcy. Entertaining these views and opinions, I should deeply regret any abandonment of the policy of protection, or any material alteration of the Tariff of 1842, which has worked so well. If its operation had been even doubtful, would it not be wiser

* According to the computation of Mr. Hudson, of Massachusetts.

to await further developments from experience, before we plunge into a new and unexplored theory? Scarcely any misfortune is so great to the business and pursuits of a people as that of perpetual change."

In a letter of September 10, 1846, written subsequent to the abolition of the Tariff of '42, Mr. Clay remarked: "I believe the system of protection, notwithstanding the opposition which it has often encountered, has pushed the nation forward half a century in advance of where it would have been if the doctrines of free trade had always prevailed in our public councils. Whether it will be pushed back again to the same or any other extent by the Tariff recently established, which has sought to subvert the previous system, and to embody those doctrines, remains to be seen. I confess that I seriously apprehend great injury to the general business of the country, and ultimately to the revenue of the Government."

The Sub-Treasury system, adopted August, 1846, has been found injurious to the public interests, unwieldy, expensive, and liable to the grossest abuses. But the war and the Tariff have diverted public attention from its practical operation. In his Message of December, 1847, the President says: "The constitutional treasury created by this act went into operation on the 1st of January last. Under the system established by it, the public moneys have been collected, safely kept, and disbursed, by the direct agency of officers of the Government, in gold and silver; and transfers of large amounts have been made from points of collection to points of disbursement, without loss to the treasury, or injury or inconvenience to the trade of the country." With treasury-notes below par, as they were about the time of the promulgation of these assertions, it may easily be seen why there should have been great facilities of transfer; but there have been repeated instances of great losses to the country in consequence of the defects and evils of the Sub-Treasury system. The only class benefited by its operation are the officeholders and the favored financiers of the Government. According to Mr. Polk's own confession, "in some of its details, not involving its general principles, the system is defective, and will require modification."

We have thus glanced briefly at some of the measures of Mr. Polk's administration. To enumerate all that it has left undone, which it ought to have done, had the best interests of the country been consulted, would be but to recapitulate many of those objects of policy which the public career of Mr. Clay exhibit him as contending for.

The consequences of his non-election to the Presidency have been—an unrighteous and demoralizing war; the abrogation of a tariff under which the country was thriving beyond all precedent; and the establishment of a sub-treasury: for all which, in the language of the "Ancient Mariner" of Coleridge, we—

"Penance much have done,
And penance more must do."

"At the commencement of the war," says Mr. Hudson, in his speech before the House, February 5th, 1848, "our finances were in the most prosperous condition, there being a surplus of ten millions of dollars in the treasury. And now, after the war has been prosecuted twenty months, we are on the verge of bankruptcy. We have consumed the ordinary rev-

enue, exhausted the ten millions surplus, together with a loan on treasury-notes to the amount of thirty-three millions, and are now called upon for a grant of sixteen millions more, to supply the wants of the Government during the present fiscal year; and this sum, I am persuaded, will be found too small by eight or ten millions. So that, when the war shall have continued twenty-five months, we shall have expended, in addition to the accruing revenue, some sixty-eight millions of dollars. This is but a part of the burdens brought upon us by this unnecessary war. Our munitions of war, which have been accumulating for years in our arsenals, some fifteen millions of dollars' worth of our public domain given, or to be given, in bounty to our soldiers, and long lists of pensions and private claims growing out of the war—these should be taken into the account, and will go far in increasing the sum. These are some of the pecuniary burdens which a weak and wicked administration have wantonly brought upon the people."

CHAPTER XXV.

Testimonials in honor of Mr. Clay—Instance of the Devotion of his Friends—His Address on receiving a Vase from Ladies of Tennessee—A Visitor's Description of Mr. Clay at Ashland—Mr. Clay visits New-Orleans and St. Louis—A Misrepresentation noticed—His Appeal in behalf of famishing Ireland.

WE have seen that neither the untoward issue of the Presidential contest of 1844 nor the shades of Ashland could remove Mr. Clay less prominently from before the public eye. Though not President of the United States, though dispensing no patronage, and holding no power of promotion, he yet exercised a moral sway over his countrymen which station could never give, nor the removal of it take away. Though not Chief Magistrate, he was still chief citizen of the republic; and though he could not bestow lucrative posts and profitable jobs, he could communicate what was far better—high convictions of public duty, generous views of public policy, and great truths, which his past acts and present opinions commended to every patriotic mind.

Allusion has already been made to the testimony in his honor which the Whig ladies of Virginia resolved upon soon after his defeat. Their proceedings were denounced by some loyal Locofoco as a "movement conceived in a spirit of rebellion to public sentiment." Rather were they a token of sympathy with the beatings of the public heart. These ladies determined to procure a statue of Henry Clay to adorn the metropolis of his native State, and liberally have they carried out their plan; employing a native artist, Mr. Joel T. Hart, to execute the work, and munificently providing the means for its accomplishment. Mr. Hart, having modelled the statue, goes to Europe to cut it in marble. A competent critic thus describes the model:

"Mr. Hart has blended the idea and spirit of action with the actual presence and exhibition of repose—the latter always so essential to the highest and most agreeable effect of the sculptor's art. Mr. Clay is represented resting the weight of his body principally upon his right foot, the left being thrown a little forward and the toes turned out. The head is sufficiently erect to give dignity and spirit to the

general bearing, without approaching the offensive and vulgar line of arrogance and self-esteem, and the face is turned slightly to the right, in the direction of the corresponding arm. The fingers of the left hand rest lightly and gracefully upon a pedestal, appropriately placed, while his right arm, just fallen from an uplifted position, is sufficiently extended from the elbow to show, with the open and forward-looking palm, action just finished instead of continuous and habitual repose. The face is full of lofty animation, self-possession, and the rest of conscious power.

"The costume is a simple citizen's dress, such as Mr. Clay usually wears. The coat, unbuttoned, is loose enough not to be stiff and formal; shoes are worn instead of boots, according to Mr. Clay's invariable custom; and the shirt-collar is turned down, not according to his custom, but as a matter of great convenience if not necessity to the artist, in the exhibition of the neck and throat."

During his visit to Washington in the winter of 1848, an excellent full-length likeness of Mr. Clay was taken by Chester Harding, of Massachusetts. It was procured by the voluntary subscription of the people of Washington, in testimony of their appreciation of the noble qualities and public services of one who had spent so long a portion of his life in their midst, during which he had so completely won their esteem and affection.

Few public men ever had such troops of devoted friends as Mr. Clay. It is not by professions only that their devotion is manifested. In the spring of 1845, he met with a substantial, and, at the same time, a most touching and signal proof of the estimation in which he is held. A number of friends, residing in the eastern States, having learned indirectly that a considerable portion of Mr. Clay's entire property was about to be swept away to pay the notes of one of his family connexions, on which he was endorser, quietly raised the sum of fifty thousand dollars, and paid the notes at the bank in which they were deposited. The first intimation which he had of the movement was the reception of his cancelled obligation; and not a name was disclosed of the individuals who had had any agency in the transaction.

The artisans and mechanics of the country have, in instances too numerous to mention, shown their sense of the efficient support which Mr. Clay has always rendered to the cause of American industry and skill. In the autumn of 1845, the working gold and silver artificers of the city of New-York presented him a silver vase three feet high, neatly and elaborately chased, and bearing a complimentary inscription. Its value was a thousand dollars. Mr. Clay has more reason than people are generally aware of to feel a sympathy with the mechanic classes. His only surviving full brother was once a very skilful cabinet-maker, and several specimens of his handwork remain among the furniture at Ashland.

In November, 1846, a magnificent vase was presented to Mr. Clay by the ladies of Tennessee. His address upon the occasion of receiving the donation contains so much of public interest, that we quote it entire:

"DR. McNAIRY: It is no ordinary occurrence nor any common mission that honors me by your presence. To be deputed, as you have been, by a large

circle of Tennessee ladies to bear the flattering sentiments toward me which you have just so eloquently expressed, and to deliver to me the precious testimonials of their inestimable respect and regard which you have brought, is a proud incident in my life, ever to be remembered with feelings of profound gratitude and delight.

"My obligation to those ladies is not the less, for the high opinion of me which they do me the honor to entertain; because I feel entirely conscious that I owe it more to their generous partiality than to any merits I possess, or to the value of any public services which I have ever been able to render.

"If, indeed, their kind wishes in relation to the issue of the last presidential election had been gratified, I have no doubt that we should have avoided some of those public measures, so pregnant with the evils to our country, to which you have adverted. We should have preserved, undisturbed and without hazard, peace with all the world, have had no unhappy war with a neighboring sister republic, and consequently no deplorable waste of human life, of which that which has been sacrificed or impaired in an insalubrious climate is far greater and more lamentable than what has been lost in the glorious achievements of a brave army, commanded by a skilful and gallant general.

"We should have saved the millions of treasure which that unnecessary war has and will cost—an immense amount—sufficient to improve every useful harbor on the lakes, on the ocean, on the gulf of Mexico, and in the interior, and to remove obstructions to navigation in all the great rivers in the United States.

"We should not have subverted a patriotic system of domestic protection, fostering the industry of our own people and the interests of our own country, the great benefits which have been practically demonstrated by experience, for the visionary promises of an alien policy of free trade, fostering the industry of foreign people and the interests of foreign countries, which has brought in its train disaster and ruin to every nation that has had the temerity to try it. The beneficial tariff of 1842, which raised both the people and the government of the United States out of a condition of distress and embarrassment bordering on bankruptcy, to a state of high financial and general prosperity, would not be standing unimpaired, in the statute-book, instead of the fatal tariff of 1846, whose calamitous effects will, I apprehend, sooner or later, be certainly realized.

"All this, and more of what has since occurred in the public councils, was foretold prior to that election. It was denied, disbelieved, or unheeded; and we now realize the unfortunate consequences. But both philosophy and patriotism enjoin that we should not indulge in unavailing regrets as to the incurable past. As a part of history in which it is embodied, we may derive from it instructive lessons for our future guidance, and we ought to redouble our exertions to prevent their being unprofitably lost.

"I receive with the greatest pleasure the splendid and magnificent vase of silver which the ladies of Tennessee, whom you represent, have charged you to present to me. Wrought by American artists, tendered by my fair countrywomen, and brought to me by an ever-faithful, ardent, and distinguished friend, it comes with a triple title to my grateful acceptance. I request you to convey to those ladies respectful and cordial assurances of my warm and heartfelt thanks and acknowledgments. Tell them: I will carefully preserve, during life, and transmit to my descendants, an unfading recollection of their signal and generous manifestations of attachment and confidence. And tell them also that my fervent prayers shall be offered up for their happiness and prosperity, and shall be united with theirs that they may live to behold our country emerged from the dark clouds which encompass it, and once more as in better times, standing out, a bright and cheering example, the moral and political model and

guide, the hope, and the admiration, of the nations of the earth.

"I should entirely fail, Dr. M'Nairy, on this interesting occasion, to give utterance to my feelings, if I did not eagerly seize it to express to you, my good friend, my great obligations for the faithful and uninterrupted friendship which, in prosperous and adverse fortune, and amid all the vicissitudes of my chequered life, you have constantly, zealously, and fearlessly displayed. May you yet long live, in health, happiness, and prosperity, and enjoy the choicest blessings of a merciful and bountiful Providence."

Engaged in legal and agricultural pursuits, receiving continued testimonials of the esteem and gratitude of his countrymen, and making occasional excursions, Mr. Clay passed the greater portion of the two years which succeeded the contest of 1844. A letter, which bears the date of Lexington, May 25, 1845, gives a pleasing picture of the genial simplicity and hospitality to be found at Ashland: "I have at last realized one of my dearest wishes—that of seeing Mr. Clay at Ashland. I called on him with a friend this morning, but he was absent on his farm, and Charles, his freed slave, told us he would not be at home till afternoon; so we returned to Lexington, and, at five, P. M., retraced our steps to Ashland. Mr. Clay had returned; and meeting us at the door, took hold of our hands before I could even present a letter of introduction, and made us welcome to his house. His manners completely overcame all the ceremonies of speech I had prepared. We were soon perfectly at home, as every one must be with Henry Clay, and, in a half-hour's time, we had talked about the various sections of the country I had visited the past year, Mr. Clay occasionally giving us incidents and recollections of his own life; and I felt as though I had known him personally for years.

"Mr. Clay has lived at Ashland forty years. The place bore the name when he came to it, as he says, probably on account of the ash timber, with which it abounds; and he has made it the most delightful retreat in all the West. The estate is about six hundred acres large, all under the highest cultivation, except some two hundred acres of park, which is entirely cleared of underbrush and small trees, and is, to use the words of Lord Morpeth, who stayed at Ashland nearly a week, the nearest approach to an English park of any in this country. It serves also for a noble pasture, and here I saw some of Mr. Clay's fine horses and Durham cattle. He is said to have some of the finest stock in all Kentucky, which is to say, the finest in America; and, if I am able to judge, I confirm that report. The larger part of his farm is devoted to wheat, rye, hemp, &c., and his crops look most splendidly. He has also paid great attention to ornamenting his lands with beautiful shade-trees, shrubs, flowers, and fruit-orchards. From the road, which passes his place on the northwest side, a carriage-road leads up to the house, lined with locust, cypress, cedar, and other rare trees, and the rose, jasmine, and ivy, were clambering about them, and peeping through the grass and the boughs like so many twinkling fairies as we drove up.

"Ashland is about a mile from Lexington, easterly, on the road leading out of Main street, and is one of the loveliest situations around this delightful

town. Mr. Clay's mansion is nearly hidden from the road by the trees surrounding it, and is as quiet and secluded, save to the throng of pilgrims continually pouring up there to greet its more than royal possessor, as though it were in the wilderness. Some parts of it are now undergoing repairs, and Mr. Clay took us about to see his contemplated improvements. The houses of his slaves are all very neat, and surrounded by better gardens and more flowers and shrubbery than one half the farmhouses in the country, and all the inmates are as happy as human beings can be. Charles, of whom so much has been said, is a kind of second master of the household to Mr. Clay, and enjoys the greatest trust and confidence. To him can the keys of the wine-cellar be given without fear, and on all occasions when help was needed, Mr. Clay would call for Charles. It was Charles who brought us wine, Charles was at the door, at the carriage, at the gate, everywhere, in fact, and as polite and civil as a man asking for office. He is a fine-looking, middle-sized negro, about thirty years old, and I do not believe he could be drawn from Mr. Clay except by absolute animal force, so great is his devotion to him. As I said, Mr. Clay has lived at Ashland forty years. He said he had seen Cincinnati grow from a small village to its present size, and had witnessed the growth of much of the west at the same time. Beside the six hundred acres, he has about two hundred acres at a distance, in the rear of Ashland, and these two lots form his estate.

"As it was nearly night when we called on Mr. Clay, we had hardly time to see things properly, and he urged me to come up again. I went up the day following in company with the 'Swiss Bell-Ringers,' who were also on a visit to Ashland. Mr. Clay received the band and myself warmly at the door, and, after a few civilities, put on his white hat and walked through the grounds with us, talking freely and familiarly to all. He is the most easy and affable man I have ever seen. He picked a rose for each of us: mine I have most carefully pressed, and shall give it to my lady-love, when I find one, and she may consider it a prize! He told me, while we were walking, about Lord Morpeth's early rising at Ashland, and said that his lordship used to go on foot a mile down to the post-office, and bring up the mail before he was out of bed. Of Morpeth, Mr. Clay spoke in the highest terms.

"After an hour spent in the park and garden, the bell-ringers proposed giving Mr. Clay and his family a specimen of their music, and we of course adjourned to the house. Here, for the first time, I saw Mrs. Clay, and a son, Mr. John Clay. Mr. Clay was expecting the bell-ringers, and had invited for the occasion a few friends. They performed before him to his very great delight. On this occasion Mr. Clay sent for some of his home-made wine, pressed at Ashland from the Catawba grape. It was most delicious; something like sparkling hock in flavor, but of a richer taste. After performing several pieces in the house, the bell-ringers went out into the park, and rang the chimes on a peal of twelve bells, their auditors remaining in the house. I never heard anything so bewitching as the sound of the bells during that chime. Mr. Clay said he would be glad to have a chapel in the park, if he

"could always hear such voices from it. It was to me a rare treat.

"On Sunday, the day following my last visit to Ashland, I could not resist the inclination to see once more a place to me so very hallowed. On my way up I passed Mr. Clay, who, with his wife, had started for church. 'Alas!' thought I, as I looked upon his high calm brow for the last time, 'can this be the gambler, sabbath-breaker, blasphemer, all these vile characters combined, which have been ascribed to him, and cried abroad by men whose lips were too foul to speak as great a name as he will bear when they and their memories are less than ashes?' One hour with Mr. Clay at home stamps *libel* on all these execrable lies, and he who enjoys that hour says in his heart, 'That is the simplest and noblest man I ever looked upon.'"

Mr. Clay passed a good part of the winter and spring of 1846 in New-Orleans, whither he had been called by professional business. It would be but a repetition of past scenes to describe with what a warmth of welcome he was received. He took occasion, on his departure, to visit St. Louis, where he arrived on the 4th of April, and met with a most enthusiastic reception. He reached his residence at Ashland on the 22d of that month, with his health much benefited by the travel and relaxation he had enjoyed.

An attempt was made the succeeding winter to induce Mr. Clay to accept an election to the United States Senate, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the retirement of Mr. Morehead, whose term was to expire the next 4th of March; but Mr. Clay peremptorily declined the honor. He was again in New-Orleans the succeeding winter. He was present at the celebration of the anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, the 22d of December; and is reported by one of the newspapers of the day to have remarked, on being called upon to reply to a complimentary toast: "Although leading a life of retirement, I am not wholly unobservant of the proceedings relating to the condition, welfare, and prospects, of our country. And when I saw around me to-night General Brooke and other old friends, I felt half inclined to ask for some nook or corner in the army, in which I might serve, to avenge the wrongs done to my country. I have thought that I might yet be able to capture or slay a Mexican. I shall not be able to do so, however, this year, but hope that success will still crown our gallant arms, and the war terminate in an honorable peace." These remarks have been the subject of some ridiculously severe animadversions. If they are correctly reported (which is very doubtful), who that knows Mr. Clay does not recognize the half-sportive, ironical spirit, in which they were intended? At the social table, not dreaming, probably, that there were "chiefs" about him "takin' notes," a ludicrous image starts into his mind, and he gives it utterance. The idea that he would be so far inflamed with martial ardor, and catch the warlike infection, as to shoulder a musket, presents itself to his mind and drops from his lips in a purely jocose, conversational tone. But it is at once taken up and misrepresented by his opponents.

While in New-Orleans, early in 1847, the wail of famishing Ireland fell on the ears of Mr. Clay, and at once aroused the warmest sympathies of his heart.

Being invited to attend a meeting held in aid of the sufferers, he went; and being loudly called for by those present, addressed them as follows:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS:

"I hesitated to accept the invitation which has brought me here. Being a mere sojourner and not a member of this community, I doubted the propriety of my presence and participation in the proceedings of this meeting, and apprehended that my motive might be misunderstood. But—on consulting my pillow, and considering that the humanity of the object of this assembly is bounded by no latitude nor locality, and ought to be co-extensive with the whole human family—it seemed to me that all considerations of fastidious delicacy and etiquette should be waived and merged in a generous and magnanimous effort to contribute to the relief of the sufferers which have excited our feelings. If I should be misconceived or misrepresented, the experience of a long life has taught me, that the best response to misconception and misrepresentation is the fearless and faithful discharge of duty, in all the conditions of life in which we may be placed; and the answer to traduction and calumny, is conscious rectitude and the approbation of one's own heart.

"Mr. President—If we were to hear that large numbers of the inhabitants of Asia, or Africa, or Australia, or the remotest part of the globe, were daily dying with hunger and famine—no matter what their color, what their religion, or what their civilization—we should deeply lament their condition, and be irresistibly prompted, if possible, to mitigate their sufferings. But it is not the distresses of any such distant regions that have summoned us together on this occasion. The appalling and heart-rending distresses of Ireland and Irishmen form the object of our present consultation. That Ireland, which has been in all the vicissitudes of our national existence our friend, and has ever extended to us her warmest sympathy—those Irishmen, who, in every war in which we have been engaged, on every battle-field, from Quebec to Monterey, have stood by us, shoulder to shoulder, and shared in all the perils and fortunes of the conflict.

"The imploring appeal comes to us from the Irish nation, which is so identified with our own as to be almost part and parcel of ours—bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. Nor is it any ordinary case of human misery, or a few isolated cases of death by starvation, that we are called upon to consider. Famine is stalking abroad throughout Ireland—whole towns, counties—countless human beings, of every age and of both sexes, at this very moment, are starving, or in danger of starving to death for bread. Of all the forms of dissolution of human life, the pangs and agony of that which proceeds from famine are the most dreadful. If one dies fighting gloriously for his country, he is cheered in his expiring moments by the patriotic nature of his sacrifice. He knows that his surviving relations and friends, while lamenting his loss, will be gratified and honored by his devotion to his country. Poets, painters, sculptors, historians—will record his deeds of valor and perpetuate his renown. If he dies by the sudden explosion of the boilers of a steamboat, or by a storm at sea, death is quiet and easy, and soon performs his mission. A few piercing shrieks are uttered, he sinks beneath the surface, and all is still and silent. But a death by starvation comes slow, lingering and excruciating. From day to day the wretched victim feels his flesh dwindling, his speech sinking, his friends falling around him, and he finely expires in horrible agony.

"Behold the wretched Irish mother—with haggard looks and streaming eyes—her famished children clinging to her tattered garments, and gazing piteously in her face, begging for food! And see the distracted husband-father, with pallid cheeks standing by, horror and despair depicted in his countenance—tortured with the reflection that he

can afford no succor or relief to the dearest objects of his heart, about to be snatched forever from him by the most cruel of all deaths.

"This is no fancy picture; but, if we are to credit the terrible accounts which reach us from that theatre of misery and wretchedness, is one of daily occurrence. Indeed, no imagination can conceive—no tongue express—no pencil paint—the horrors of the scenes which are there daily exhibited. Ireland, in respect to food, is differently situated from all the countries of the world. Asia has her abundant supply of rice; Africa, her dates, yams and rice; Europe, her bread of wheat, rye and oats; America, a double resource in the small grains, and a never failing and abundant supply of Indian corn—that great supporter of animal life, for which we are not half grateful enough to a bountiful and merciful Providence. But the staple food of large parts of poor Ireland is the potato, and when it fails, pinching want and famine follow. It is among the inscrutable dispensations of Providence, that the crop has been blighted the two last years; and hence the privation of food, and this appeal to the sympathy of American hearts.

"Shall it be in vain? Shall starving Ireland—the young and the old—dying women and children—stretch out their hands to us for bread, and find no relief? Will not this great city, the world's storehouse of an exhaustless supply of all kinds of food, borne to its overflowing warehouses by the Father of Waters, act on this occasion in a manner worthy of its high destiny, and obey the noble impulses of the generous hearts of its blessed inhabitants? We are commanded, by the common Savior of Ireland and of us, to love one another as ourselves; and on this, together with one higher obligation, hang all the law and prophets of our holy religion. We know, that of all the forms of humanity and benevolence, none is more acceptable, in the sight of God, than the practice of charity. Let us demonstrate our love, our duty and our gratitude to Him, by a liberal contribution to the relief of His suffering Irish children.

"Fellow-citizens, no ordinary purpose has brought us together. This is no political gathering. If it had been, you would not have seen me here. I have not come to make a speech. When the heart is full and agitated by its own feeling emotions, the paralyzed tongue finds utterance difficult. It is not fervid eloquence, not gilded words, that Ireland needs—but substantial food. Let us rise to the magnitude of the duty which is before us, and by a generous supply from the magnitude of our means, evince the genuineness and cordiality of our sympathy and miseration."

At the conclusion of this speech, one loud and unanimous shout of approval was raised, in which officers and audience participated. The effect of the speech is well told in a letter addressed to Mr. Clay by two Irishmen of New York, and accompanied with an elegant gift of cutlery. "It was the good fortune of one of us," they say, "to hear your speech in behalf of the famishing millions of our native land, when in New Orleans on business during that dreadful winter of 1846-'7; it has since been the fortune of the other to hear and to witness in Ireland and elsewhere in Europe the admiration and gratitude which that speech has excited; it is the pleasing duty of both to thank God that your thrilling appeal to the best feelings of our common humanity was the means, by stimulating the energies of ever-blessed charity among the American people, of saving thousands of our countrymen from a death of agony and horror. It must be an abiding joy to your generous heart to know that American benevolence is devoutly blessed in parishes and cabins where even *your* name, illustrious as it is,

had hardly been heard before the famine; and that thousands have been impelled by their deliverance from the worst effects of that dire calamity to invoke blessings on the head of HENRY CLAY.

"You have often, and most appropriately, received at the hands of your countrymen by birth, fitting acknowledgments of your services, in the shape of rare products of their unsurpassed mechanical ingenuity and skill. *Our* humble offering is the work of foreign artisans, in grateful acknowledgment of your powerful aid to an oppressed and suffering race on the other side of the Atlantic. We trust it may not on that account be unacceptable, but that, among your many tokens of American esteem and thankfulness, a single remembrance of the tears of gratitude which at the mention of your name have bedewed the cheek of suffering Ireland may not be unwelcome."

"I must have had a heart colder than stone," says Mr. Clay in reply, "if I had been capable of listening to the sad account of Irish distress without the deepest emotions. My regret was, that I could do little or nothing to mitigate the sufferings of a generous and gallant people. Nor did my own countrymen, I am fully persuaded, require any stimulus from me, to prompt them to extend all practicable succors, to those with whom we are intimately connected by so many pleasing ties."

CHAPTER XXVI.

Successes of our Army in Mexico—Buena Vista—Mr. Clay receives news of his Son's Death—Letter of General Taylor, announcing the Event—Mr. Clay joins the Church—His Visit to Cape May—Address of the New-York Delegates, and his Reply.

THE war with Mexico was, in its results, as honorable to the army of the United States, as, in its origin, it was disgraceful to the administrations of Messrs. Tyler and Polk. The series of brilliant successes achieved under Generals Taylor and Scott—the rapidly-succeeding victories of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Buena Vista, Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, and Chapultepec—are unparalleled in the history of modern warfare, in the numerical inferiority of the forces by which vast numbers were overcome.

It was with heavy forebodings that Mr. Clay left New-Orleans. Our gallant army under Taylor was known to be in a situation of great peril, surrounded by overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and dependent solely upon the personal courage of the officers and men, united to the intrepidity and sagacity of their revered General, for its safety. Mr. Clay's son Henry had quitted the practice of the law, and hastened to join the standard of his country in Mexico early in the contest, and was now with Taylor at Buena Vista. This generous-spirited young man was born in 1811. Having graduated with high honors at West Point Academy, he had studied law, married, travelled a while in Europe, and returned to Kentucky, to serve his country on the battle-field when the occasion invited.

As Mr. Clay was leaving Frankfort for Ashland, he received the melancholy intelligence of the death of his son. The paper containing the news was handed to him by a friend, and he carefully read it until he came to the sad announcement. Then he

trembled like an aspen, but uttered no word, save a command to the driver to move on. "Amid all the clustering honors of his elevated career," says a writer of the day, "Mr. Clay has been a man of sorrows. The affections of his home have been great as his own heart, and have yearned over his children with an intensity of love which only noble natures know. But—

"Affliction seemed enamored of his parts;"

death has been busy about his hearthstone; and one by one he has seen many of those who so proudly claimed him as father or grandsire, taken from him. Their heritage of love devolved upon the survivors; and his son, who bore his name and shared his virtues, was the pride and glory of his honored old age. But his country demanded that son. The struggle of the father's heart must have been a mighty one; but he devoted him—as he had devoted his own lustrous life—to his country. The heroism of Colonel Clay rendered it certain that his career would be brilliant, but probable that it would also be brief. Mr. Clay seemed to feel a parental presentiment that such would be the fact. We rejoice that the unhappy tidings found him at home and among his kindred (though all the land is his home, and every heart his kindred), where his tears can mingle with those of the stricken partner of his afflictions. We dare not, even in imagination, intrude upon the scene made sacred by sorrow: yet we know enough of the hero-statesman to believe that, even in his hour of desolation, the pride of the patriot and the parent may afford some solace, and that the sentiment of Cato ever *his* sacrifice will rise from his heart:

"I'm satisfied!
Thanks to the gods! my son has done his duty.
How beautiful is death when earned by virtue!
Who would not be that youth? What pity is it
That we can die but once to serve our country!"

The following letter from General Taylor, communicating the afflicting intelligence to Mr. Clay, is as honorable to the writer as it is to the departed hero:

"HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF OCCUPATION, }
"AGUA NUEVA, MEXICO, March 1, 1847. }

"MY DEAR SIR: You will no doubt have received, before this can reach you, the deeply distressing intelligence of the death of your son in the battle of Buena Vista. It is with no wish of intruding upon the sanctuary of parental sorrow, and with no hope of administering any consolation to your wounded heart, that I have taken the liberty of addressing you these few lines; but I have felt it a duty which I owe to the memory of the distinguished dead, to pay a willing tribute to his many excellent qualities, and while my feelings are still fresh, to express the desolation which his untimely loss and that of other kindred spirits have occasioned.

"I had but a casual acquaintance with your son, until he became for a time a member of my military family, and I can truly say that no one ever won more rapidly upon my regard, or established a more lasting claim to my respect and esteem. Manly and honorable in every impulse, with no feeling but for the honor of the service and of the country, he gave every assurance that in the hour of need I could lean with confidence upon his support. Nor was I disappointed. Under the guidance of himself and the lamented McKee, gallantly did the sons of Kentucky, in the thickest of the strife, uphold the honor of the State and the country.

"A grateful people will do justice to the memory of those who fell on that eventful day. But I may

be permitted to express the bereavement which I feel in the loss of valued friends. To your son I felt bound by the strongest ties of private regard, and when I miss his familiar face and those of McKee and Hardin, I can say with truth that I felt no exultation in our success.

"With the expression of my deepest and most heartfelt sympathies for your irreparable loss, I remain your friend,
Z. TAYLOR.

"Hon. HENRY CLAY, New-Orleans, La."

General Taylor has always been forward to appreciate and recognize the eminent public services and claims of Mr. Clay. In a letter to Joseph R. Ingersoll, dated August 3, 1847, he writes: "At the last presidential canvass, it was well known to all with whom I mixed, Whigs and Democrats—for I had no concealments in the matter—that I was decidedly in favor of Mr. Clay's election; and I would now prefer seeing him in that office to any individual in the Union." This is sufficiently emphatic. Lasting honor to the tried and honorable soldier, who can thus yield the palm to civic worth and qualifications! To whatever point party contingencies may tend, they must not, they can not sunder the consecrated ties of friendship and esteem which exist between the hero of Ashland and him of Buena Vista.

"My life has been full of domestic afflictions, but this last is one of the severest among them," wrote Mr. Clay to a friend soon after the news of the fall of his son. The ensuing 8th of April, in a letter to a committee of the Whigs of Auburn, he alluded to the Mexican war in the following terms: "You express your regret on account of the unexpected issue of the last presidential election. I ought to feel none for myself personally. Besides being relieved from a vast responsibility, it furnished the occasion of the exhibition of testimonials, and the outpouring of affection from the hearts of my friends and countrymen, of which I had no previous conception that I ever could be the honored object. Their spontaneous and disinterested manifestations are worth far more than the Presidency itself. For our common country I do regret the issue of the contest. Had it been otherwise, we should have preserved the protective policy, under which we had made such rapid and encouraging advances; the march of improvement in our rivers and harbors would not have been arrested; and, above all, we should have avoided this unnecessary war of aggression with a neighbor, torn to pieces by internal dissensions. The brilliant achievements, and the glorious laurels acquired, during its prosecution, gratifying as they are to our national pride and character, can never compensate for the exceptionable manner in which it was begun, the brave and patriotic lives which have been sacrificed, and the fearful issues which I tremble in contemplating, may grow out of its termination. But I have not now a heart to dwell on this painful theme. I turn from it with hope and dutiful submission to Him whose no doubt wise but inscrutable dispensation has permitted this awful calamity to visit our beloved country."

An interesting event transpired at Ashland during the summer of 1847. It can best be told in the language of an eye-witness, under date of June 25th:

"A notice was very generally circulated through the public papers of the country, some two or three years ago, to the effect that Mr. Clay had become a member of the Protestant Episcopal church. The

wish was doubtless father to the thought, as Mr. Clay had not at that time taken any such step. He has always been known to have the highest respect for the institutions of Christianity, and to have been a decided believer in the Divine authenticity of the Christian religion—his amiable and now deeply afflicted wife having for many years been an humble follower of its blessed Author. When the weather permitted it, living as he does a mile and a half from the church, Mr. Clay has always been a regular attendant on its services; and for two or three years past, having had more leisure from public duty, his attention had evidently been turned to the high considerations connected with things spiritual and eternal—his life having been devoted so intensely to the good of others, as scarcely, until this period of retirement, to leave him an opportunity to think of himself. But he has at length consecrated his great powers to God. He was baptized in the little parlor at Ashland on Tuesday, the 22d instant, together with one of his daughters-in-law (the other being already a member of the church) and her four children, by the Rev. Edward M. Berkley, rector of Christ church, Lexington. The baptism was administered privately, for the reason that the congregation of Christ church are replacing their old church with a new edifice, now in rapid progress of erection, and are not suitably situated for the most solemn and decent administration of this rite in public.

"When the minister entered the room, on this deeply solemn and interesting occasion, the small assembly, consisting of the immediate family, a few family connexions, and the clergyman's wife, rose up. In the middle of the room stood a large centre-table, on which was placed, filled with water, the magnificent cut-glass vase presented to Mr. Clay by some gentlemen of Pittsburg. On one side of the room hung the large picture of the family of Washington, himself an Episcopalian by birth, by education, and a devout communicant of the church; and immediately opposite, on a side-table, stood the bust of the lamented Harrison, with a chaplet of withered flowers hung upon his head, who was to have been confirmed in the church the sabbath after he died—fit witnesses of such a scene. Around the room were suspended a number of family pictures, and among them the portrait of a beloved daughter, who died some years ago, in the triumphs of that faith which her noble father was now about to embrace; and the picture of the late lost son, who fell at the battle of Buena Vista. Could these silent lookers-on at the scene about transpiring, have spoken from the marble and the canvass, they would heartily have approved the act which dedicated the great man to God. There was a deep emotion pervading that small assembly at the recital, under such circumstances, of the sublime ordinal of the church."

Early in the ensuing August Mr. Clay left Kentucky to try the benefit of sea-bathing at Cape May. On the 14th of that month he reached Philadelphia, having been greeted at every stopping place on his route with the sympathizing respects and enthusiastic cheers of the people. At Philadelphia he became the guest of Mr. Henry White. An immense multitude soon assembled before the house, anxious to catch sight of the venerated statesman. When he appeared on the balcony, the manifestations of enthusiasm and of welcome were indescribable; ev-

ery man of the vast crowd seemed anxious to extend a personal token of admiration and attachment. When silence was restored, Mr. Clay remarked that he had come to the city without any intention—certainly without any desire—of causing such a manifestation. He had left his home for the purpose of escaping from afflicting and perpetually recurring feelings; in the hope of finding among the friends whom he might meet during his travels, a portion of consolation for the heaviest affliction Providence had ever visited upon him: but under whatever circumstances he might have come, he would be void of gratitude, he would be destitute of all the finer feelings of nature, if he failed in thankfulness for the kindness so manifested. The city of Philadelphia, he was proud to say, had, during all the trials, difficulties, and vicissitudes, of his chequered career, been his warm and steadfast friend.

But if even the occasion was not unfit, the feelings under which he labored would prevent him from seizing upon it for the purpose of making a set speech; and in parting, he would only add the expression of a wish—as the day which ushers in the sabbath, that all men should respect, was nearly spent—that they would unite with him in the sentiment, that to our country, whether it is directed in its public measures by a good government or a bad one—whether it is in prosperity or adversity—in peace or at war—we should always give our hearts, our hands, and our hopes. Mr. Clay then bade his fellow-citizens farewell, and retired amid the stormy plaudits and affectionate "good-nights" of the dispersing multitude.

At Cape May Mr. Clay was the object of renewed testimonials of public love and regard. The country people for miles around crowded to see him, while all the visitors to the island vied with each other in demonstrations of honor and sympathy. On the afternoon of the 18th he experienced a somewhat narrow escape from serious injury. Riding out on the beach in company with a young lady from Kentucky and two of his friends, in Mr. Brolaskey's coach, drawn by four spirited horses—on their return, the driver, in curbing one of the leaders rather suddenly, caused him to commence kicking. Both leaders then kicked the horses behind them, and these jumped and reared until they broke the shaft, and ran the carriage into the fence. Just before it struck, Mr. Clay seized the young lady in his arms, opened the door, and leaped out of the carriage unhurt, before the driver or any of the bystanders could render assistance. The carriage rolled on, struck the fence, and was considerably damaged.

While sojourning at this pleasant watering-place, delegates from New-York and New-Haven made a trip to Cape May purposely to invite him to visit their cities. The scene of their interview with him was one of the most interesting and animating that had been experienced even in the career of one who had so long been the subject of public honors the most grateful and estimable. It took place in the great hall of the Mansion House, which was crowded on the occasion with spectators, many of whom were ladies. After appropriate music from a good band, Mr. Clay made his appearance, and Mr. Nicholas Dean, who had been commissioned as their spokesman by the New-York delegation, addressed him as follows:

"Through the unexpected kindness of friends, I am the honored instrument of expressing to you, sir, briefly, sentiments which are common to us all. You are surrounded by a few of your fellow-citizens from the city of New York—not the result of political association, not the offspring of party organization—who had individually learned from the public press that you were sojourning in their vicinity, and who by one simultaneous impulse, threw themselves on board a swift means of communication, and hastened here to grasp you by the hand, and offer to you the homage of their warm salutations. [Cheers and other manifestations of applause.]

"But, sir, we have another and more important duty to perform; we come in the names of 400,000 persons, to ask you once again to visit our metropolis. [Applause.] Once again to permit us within the circle of our own corporate limits, to express to you our deep appreciation of the eminent services which you, through a long series of years have rendered, not to us only, but to our whole country; [cheers of applause], once again to furnish us the opportunity of expressing to you our undiminished confidence and esteem, the love, the reverence with which we regard you. [Continued applause.]

"These, sir, are no ordinary sentiments, nor are they felt in any ordinary degree. They are the warm and hearty expressions of a generous and grateful spirit; suffer them not to be chilled by deferred hope, or in any degree repressed by present disappointment. Permit us, we pray you, sir, to announce to our friends with the speed of lightning that [with emphasis], Henry Clay will come to them. [Applause loud and long.]

"A hundred thousand tongues are waiting to spread the glad intelligence, and the great aggregate heart of our entire city is throbbing to bid you welcome, thrice welcome, to its hospitalities." [Cheers, cheers, cheers.]

During the delivery of this address, Mr. Clay seemed gratefully touched, and, after a pause of a few moments, he replied in the following language:—

"Gentlemen of the committee from New York—gentlemen of the committee from Trenton—gentlemen of the committee from New Haven—gentlemen of the committee from Philadelphia—for there are conventions present from all these places—fellow-citizens: the eloquent address, which has just been delivered, has had the effect almost to induce me, to adopt the language which was used on a more solemn occasion, 'Thou almost persuadest me,' to go. [Great applause.] But in all that uprightness of nature, which I have ever endeavored to practise, I must tell you the objects and motives which have brought me to the shores of the Atlantic. I returned to my residence, after passing the winter at New Orleans, on the twenty-third or twenty-fourth of March last, and in a day or two afterward melancholy intelligence reached me. [Here Mr. Clay evinced great emotion.] I have been nervous ever since, and was induced to take this journey; for I could not look upon the partner of my sorrows without experiencing deeper anguish. [The speaker was here overcome by his feelings and paused some minutes, covering his face with his hands; at length recovering himself, he resumed.] Everything about Ashland was associated with the memory of the lost one. The very trees which his hands had assisted me to plant served to remind me of my loss. Had the stroke come alone I could have borne it, with His assistance, and sustained by the kindness of my friends and fellow-citizens, with meekness and resignation; but of eleven children four only remain—[emotion]—of six lovely and affectionate daughters not one is left. Finding myself in that theatre of sadness, I thought I would fly to the mountain's top, and de-

scend to the ocean's wave, and by meeting with the sympathy of friends, obtain some relief for the sadness which surrounded me. I came for private purposes, and from private motives alone. I have not sought these public manifestations, nor have I desired to escape them. My friend and travelling companion, Doctor Mercer, will tell you that in Virginia—in every section of the state of my birth—I have been implored to remain, if only for a few hours, to exchange congratulations with my friends, but I invariably refused, and only remained in each place sufficiently long to exchange one vehicle for another. You may imagine that I made a visit to Philadelphia—but I was accidentally thrown into Philadelphia. When I arrived in Baltimore, I learned that the most direct route to this place was by the Delaware. I had no public object in view. Indifferent I am not, nor can I be, to the honor, welfare and glory of my country. [Cheers.] Gentlemen of the committee of New York, I have truly and sincerely disclosed the purpose of my journey, but I cannot but deeply feel this manifestation of your respect and regard. It is received with thankfulness, and reaches the warmest feelings of my heart—that I, a private and humble citizen, without an army, without a navy, without even a constable's staff, should have been met at every step of my progress with the kindest manifestations of feelings—manifestations of which at present a monarch or an emperor might well be proud. [Tremendous applause.] No—I am not insensible to these tokens of public affection and regard. I am thankful for them all. [Cheers.] To you, gentlemen, of the committee of New York, who, in behalf of four hundred thousand individuals whom you represent, have taken so much trouble, I am deeply thankful for this manifestation of your regard, but I must reluctantly decline the honor of your invitation. To the citizens of Trenton, New Haven, and Philadelphia, I must beg [here M. Clay addressed the committees from the other places] of you, to excuse me; and trust to their affection to do so; for if I do not place myself on the affections of my countrymen, whither should I go and where should I be? On the wide ocean, without a compass, and without a guide. [Very great applause.] I must beg of you, gentlemen of all these committees, to retrace your steps, charged and surcharged with my warmest feelings of gratitude. Go back charged with warm thanks from me, and tell my friends that nothing but the circumstances in which I am placed—nothing else, (for we may as well mingle a laugh with our tears, and borrow the words of the Irish ambassador) "situated as I am, and I may say, circumstanced as I am"—deprives me of the honor of meeting you. [Laughter.] Tell them, and I hope this response will be considered as a specific answer to each of the committees (for if you could see how my time is occupied here, you would know it is impossible for me to waste it), that you are charged with the expression of the best feelings of my heart. And you, gentlemen of New York, be assured that it will be long before this evidence of your regard will be forgotten. Among the recollections of the incidents of this journey, this visit will be paramount, and the circumstances which led to it. I wish you an agreeable voyage on your return; and make my apologies for being constrained to decline your kind invitation."

After passing a few days at Newcastle with his friend the Hon. John M. Clayton, and having been absent from home about a month, Mr. Clay returned to Kentucky, reinvigorated in health and spirits, and carrying with him new stores of recollections of honors, and testimonials of attachment, with which his countrymen had everywhere marked his progress.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Mr. Clay's Speech and Resolutions at Lexington on the Mexican War—The Response from the People.

In every important engagement in Mexico our armies had been successful. The victory of Buena Vista had been a fitting climax to the military operations of Taylor; and Scott had achieved a new conquest of Mexico, hardly less marvellous than that which Cortez had accomplished centuries before. The city of the Montezumas was occupied by our troops. The fortresses of the country and her principal port were in our possession. Mexico was at our feet; and the question was, "What is to be done with our victory?"

Some were for annexing the whole country. Others were for drawing a line, and claiming all inside of it. Some were for despoiling Mexico; and others were for magnanimously abandoning all the fruits of our conquest. At this juncture, the 13th of November, 1847, Mr. Clay, whose views upon the subject had been looked for with solicitude, lifted his voice in behalf of the humane, the honorable, and the politic course. It was at Lexington that his speech on the Mexican war was delivered. An immense concourse of citizens was present to hear him. Among them were Senator Crittenden, Governor Letcher, the Hon. Garrett Davis, and a whole host of distinguished Kentuckians and eminent strangers from other States, as well as many ladies, who all listened with the deepest attention. Mr. Clay is represented as having spoken with all the fervor and animation of his younger life: and, notwithstanding the length of the speech and his energetic deliverance, and the fact that his voice had been impaired by a speech of more than three hours' duration, which professional duty had required him to make only a few days before, there was no lack of physical strength to the end, when he seemed as fresh as at the commencement. His exordium on this occasion is graceful and touching. The weather being unfavorable, the circumstance was converted to his use in associating it with his topic:

"The day," he said, "is dark and gloomy, unsettled and uncertain, like the condition of our country in regard to the unnatural war with Mexico. The public mind is agitated and anxious, and is filled with serious apprehensions as to its indefinite continuance, and especially as to the consequences which its termination may bring forth, menacing the harmony, if not the existence, of our Union. It is under these circumstances I present myself before you. No ordinary occasion would have drawn me from the retirement in which I live; but, while a single pulsation of the human heart remains, it should, if necessary, be dedicated to the service of one's country. And I have hoped that, although I am a private and humble citizen, an expression of the views and opinions I entertain might form some little addition to the general stock of information, and afford a small assistance in delivering our country from the perils and dangers which surround it."

There is a graceful melancholy in the following allusion to the approach of old age: "I have come here with no purpose to attempt to make a fine speech, or any ambitious oratorical display. I have brought with me no rhetorical bouquets to throw into this assemblage. In the circle of the year autumn

has come, and the season of flowers has passed away. In the progress of years, my spring time has gone by, and I too am in the autumn of life, and feel the frost of age. My desire and aim are to address you earnestly, calmly, seriously, and plainly, upon the grave and momentous subjects which have brought us together. And I am most solicitous that not a solitary word may fall from me offensive to any party or person in the whole extent of the Union."

Mr. Clay then took a review of those scourges of mankind, of which war is not the least:

"War, pestilence, and famine, by the common consent of mankind, are the three greatest calamities which can befall our species; and war, as the most direful, justly stands foremost and in front. Pestilence and famine, no doubt for wise although inscrutable purposes, are inflictions of Providence, to which it is our duty, therefore, to bow with obedience, humble submission, and resignation. Their duration is not long, and their ravages are limited. They bring, indeed, great affliction while they last, but society soon recovers from their effects. War is the voluntary work of our own hands, and whatever reproaches it may deserve should be directed to ourselves. When it breaks out, its duration is indefinite and unknown—its vicissitudes are hidden from our view. In the sacrifice of human life, and in the waste of human treasure, in its losses and in its burdens, it affects both belligerent nations; and its sad effects of mangled bodies, of death, and of desolation, endure long after its thunders are hushed in peace. War uningles society, disturbs its peaceful and regular industry, and scatters poisonous seeds of disease and immorality, which continue to germinate and diffuse their baneful influence long after it has ceased. Dazzling by its glitter, pomp, and pageantry, it begets a spirit of wild adventure and romantic enterprise, and often disqualifies those who embark in it, after their return from the bloody fields of battle, from engaging in the industrious and peaceful vocations of life.

"We are informed by a statement, which is apparently correct, that the number of our countrymen slain in this lamentable Mexican war, although it has yet been of only eighteen months' existence, is equal to one half of the whole of the American loss during the seven years' war of the Revolution! And I venture to assert that the expenditure of treasure which it has occasioned, when it shall come to be fairly ascertained and footed up, will be found to be more than half of the pecuniary cost of the war of our independence. And this is the condition of the party whose arms have been everywhere constantly victorious!"

After stating those views in regard to the origin and causes of the war with which the reader of his life is already familiar, Mr. Clay came to the consideration of the question, how was it to be brought to a satisfactory close? The mode which he indicated was, that Congress, inasmuch as it has the right, either at the beginning or during the prosecution of any war, to decide the objects and purposes for which it was proclaimed, or for which it ought to be continued, should, by some deliberate and authentic act, declare for what objects the existing war should be prosecuted. He supposed the President would not hesitate to regulate his conduct by the pronounced will of Congress, and to employ the force and the diplomatic power of the nation to execute that will. But, if the President should decline or refuse to do so, and, in contempt of the supreme authority of Congress, should persevere in waging the war, for other objects than those proclaimed by Congress, then it would be the imperative duty of that body to vindicate its authority by the most stringent,

and effectual, and appropriate measures. And if, on the contrary, the enemy should refuse to conclude a treaty, containing stipulations securing the objects designated by Congress, it would become the duty of the whole government to prosecute the war with all the national energy, until those objects were attained by a treaty of peace. There could be no insuperable difficulty in Congress making such an authoritative declaration. Let it resolve, simply, that the war should or should not be a war of conquest; and, if a war of conquest, what was to be conquered.

To the project of annexation Mr. Clay expressed his decided hostility :

"Does any considerate man," he asked, "believe it possible that two such immense countries, with territories of nearly equal extent, with populations so incongruous, so different in race, in language, in religion and in laws, could be blended together in one harmonious mass, and happily governed by one common authority? Murmurs, discontent, insurrections, rebellion, would inevitably ensue, until the incompatible parts would be broken asunder, and possibly, in the frightful struggle, our present glorious Union itself would be dissevered or dissolved. We ought not to forget the warning voice of all history, which teaches the difficulty of combining and consolidating together, conquering and conquered nations. After the lapse of eight hundred years, during which the Moors held their conquest of Spain, the indomitable courage, perseverance and obstinacy of the Spanish race finally triumphed, and expelled the African invaders from the peninsula. And, even within our own time, the colossal power of Napoleon, when at its loftiest height, was incompetent to subdue and subjugate the proud Castilian. And here in our own neighborhood, Lower Canada, which near one hundred years ago, after the conclusion of the seven years' war, was ceded by France to Great Britain, remains a foreign land in midst of the British provinces, foreign in feelings and attachment, and foreign in laws, language, and religion. And what has been the fact with poor, gallant, generous and oppressed Ireland? Centuries have passed since the overbearing Saxon overran and subjugated the Emerald Isle. Rivers of Irish blood have flowed, during the long and arduous contest. Insurrection and rebellion have been the order of the day; and yet, up to this time, Ireland remains alien in feeling, affection and sympathy, toward the power which has so long borne her down. Every Irishman hates, with a mortal hatred, his Saxon oppressor. Although there are great territorial differences between the condition of England and Ireland, as compared to that of the United States and Mexico, there are some points of striking resemblance between them. Both the Irish and the Mexicans are probably of the same Celtic race. Both the English and the Americans are of the same Saxon origin. The catholic religion predominates in both the former, the protestant among both the latter. Religion has been the fruitful cause of dissatisfaction and discontent between the Irish and the English nations.—Is there no reason to apprehend that it would become so between the people of the United States and those of Mexico, if they were united together? Why should we seek to interfere with them in their mode of worship of a common Savior? We believe that they are wrong, especially in the exclusive character of their faith, and that we are right. They think that they are right and we wrong. What other rule can there be than to leave the followers of each religion to their own solemn convictions of conscientious duty toward God? Who, but the great Arbiter of the Universe, can judge in such a question? For my own part, I sincerely believe and hope, that those who belong to all the departments of the great church of Christ, if, in truth and purity, they conform to the

doctrines which they profess, will ultimately secure an abode in those regions of bliss, which all aim finally to reach. I think that there is no potentate in Europe, whatever his religion may be, more enlightened or at this moment so interesting as the liberal head of the papal see.

"But I suppose it to be impossible that those who favor, if there be any who favor the annexation of Mexico to the United States, can think that it ought to be perpetually governed by military sway. Certainly no votary of human liberty could deem it right that a violation should be perpetrated of the great principles of our own revolution, according to which, laws ought not to be enacted and taxes ought not to be levied, without representation on the part of those who are to obey the one, and pay the other. Then, Mexico is to participate in our councils and equally share in our legislation and government. But, suppose she would not voluntarily choose representatives to the national Congress, is our soldiery to follow the electors to the ballot-box, and by force to compel them, at the point of the bayonet, to deposit their ballots? And how are the nine millions of Mexican people to be represented in the Congress of the United States of America, and the Congress of the United States of the republic of Mexico combined? Is every Mexican, without regard to color or caste, per capita, to exercise the elective franchise? How is the quota of representation between the two republics, to be fixed? Where is their seat of common government to be established?—And who can foresee or foretell, if Mexico, voluntarily or by force, were to share in the common government what could be the consequences to her or to us? Unprepared, as I fear her population yet is, for the practical enjoyment of self-government, and of habits, customs, language, laws and religion, so totally different from our own, we should present the revolting spectacle of a confused, distracted, and motley government. We should have a Mexican party, a Pacific ocean party an Atlantic party, in addition to the other parties, which exist, or with which we are threatened, each striving to execute its own particular views and purposes, and reproaching the others with thwarting and disappointing them. The Mexican representation, in Congress, would probably form a separate and impenetrable corps, always ready to throw itself into the scale of any other party, to advance and promote Mexican interests. Such a state of things could not long endure. Those, whom God and geography have pronounced should live asunder, could never be permanently and harmoniously united together.

"Do we want for our own happiness or greatness the addition of Mexico to the existing Union of our States? If our population was too dense for our territory, and there was a difficulty in obtaining honorably the means of subsistence, there might be some excuse for an attempt to enlarge our dominions. But we have no such apology. We have already, in our glorious country, a vast and almost boundless territory. Beginning at the north, in the frozen regions of the British provinces, it stretches thousands of miles along the coasts of the Atlantic ocean and the Mexican gulf, until it almost reaches the tropics. It extends to the Pacific ocean, borders on those great inland seas, the lakes, which separate us from the possessions of Great Britain, and it embraces the great father of rivers, from its uppermost source to the Balise, and the still longer Missouri, from its mouth to the gorges of the Rocky mountains. It comprehends the greatest variety of the richest soils, capable of almost all the productions of the earth, except tea and coffee and the spices, and it includes every variety of climate, which the heart could wish or desire. We have more than ten thousand millions of acres of waste and unsettled lands, enough for the subsistence of ten or twenty times our present population. Ought we not to be satisfied with such a country?—Ought we not to be profoundly thankful to the Giver of all good things

for such a vast and bountiful land? Is it not the height of ingratitude to him to seek, by war and conquest, indulging in a spirit of rapacity, to acquire other lands, the homes and habitations of a large portion of his common children? If we pursue the object of such a conquest, besides mortgaging the revenue and resources of this country for ages to come, in the form of an onerous national debt, we should have greatly to augment that debt, by an assumption of the sixty or seventy millions of the national debt of Mexico. For I take it that nothing is more certain than that, if we obtain voluntarily or by conquest a foreign nation, we acquire it with all the incumbrances attached to it. In my humble opinion, we are now bound, in honor and morality, to pay the just debt of Texas. And we should be equally bound, by the same obligations, to pay the debt of Mexico if it were annexed to the United States."

Upon the question of the extension of the system of negro slavery over newly-acquired territory, Mr. Clay spoke with that same ingenueness which characterized his views on the slavery question, when, nearly fifty years ago, in Kentucky, he declared his belief that the proportion of slaves in comparison with the whites was so inconsiderable, that a system of gradual emancipation, that would ultimately eradicate the evil, might be safely adopted. That system differed from the plan of immediate abolition for which the abolition party of the present day contend. That party had done incalculable mischief even to the very cause which they espoused, to say nothing of the discord which they had produced between different parts of the country. Mr. Clay then alluded to the efforts of the American Colonization Society, of which he had been one of the principal founders. He then continued:

"It may be argued that, in admitting the injustice of slavery, I admit the necessity of an instantaneous reparation of that injustice. Unfortunately, however, it is not always safe, practicable, or possible, in the great movements of states and public affairs of nations, to remedy or repair the infliction of previous injustice. In the inception of it, we may oppose and denounce it, by our most strenuous exertions, but, after its consummation, there is often no other alternative left us but to deplore its perpetration, and to acquiesce, as the only alternative, in its existence, as a less evil than the frightful consequences which might ensue from the vain endeavor to repair it. Slavery is one of those unfortunate instances. The evil of it was inflicted upon us, by the parent country of Great Britain, against all the entreaties and remonstrances of the colonies. And here it is among and amid us, and we must dispose of it as best we can under all the circumstances which surround us. It continued, by the importation of slaves from Africa, in spite of colonial resistance, for a period of more than a century and a half, and it may require an equal or longer lapse of time before our country is entirely rid of the evil. And in the meantime, moderation, prudence, and discretion, among ourselves, and the blessings of Providence may be all necessary to accomplish our ultimate deliverance from it. Examples of similar infliction of irreparable national evil and injustice might be multiplied to an indefinite extent. The case of the annexation of Texas to the United States is a recent and an obvious one, which, if it were wrong, it cannot now be repaired. Texas is now an integral part of our Union, with its own voluntary consent. Many of us opposed the annexation with honest zeal and most earnest exertions. But who would now think of perpetrating the folly of casting Texas out of the confederacy, and throwing her back upon her own independence, or into the arms of Mexico? Who would now seek to divorce her from this Union?

The Creeks and the Cherokee Indians were, by the most exceptionable means, driven from their country, and transported beyond the Mississippi river. Their lands have been fairly purchased and occupied by inhabitants of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee. Who would now conceive the flagrant injustice of expelling those inhabitants and restoring the Indian country to the Cherokees and Creeks, under color of repairing original injustice? During the war of our Revolution, millions of paper money were issued by our ancestors, as the only currency with which they could achieve our liberties and independence. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of families were stripped of their homes and their all, and brought to ruin, by giving credit and confidence to that spurious currency. Stern necessity has prevented the reparation of that great national injustice."

The sentiments and the policy commended by Mr. Clay in this practical and eloquent speech were embodied in the following resolutions, which he read and submitted to the judgment of the meeting:

"1. Resolved, as the opinion of this meeting, that the primary cause of the present unhappy war, existing between the United States of America and the United States of the Republic of Mexico, was the annexation of Texas to the former; and that the immediate occasion of hostilities between the two republics arose out of the order of the President of the United States for the removal of the army under the command of General Taylor, from its position at Corpus Christi, to a point opposite to Matamoras, on the east bank of the Rio Bravo, within territory claimed by both republics, but then under the jurisdiction of that of Mexico, and inhabited by its citizens; and that the order of the President for the removal of the army to that point was improvident and unconstitutional, it being without the concurrence of Congress, or even any consultation with it, although it was in session: but that Congress having, by subsequent acts, recognized the war thus brought into existence, without its previous authority or consent, the prosecution of it became thereby national.

"2. Resolved, That in the absence of any formal and public declaration by Congress of the objects for which the war ought to be prosecuted, the President of the United States, as chief magistrate, and as commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, is left to the guidance of his own judgment to prosecute it for such purposes and objects as he may deem the honor and interest of the nation to require.

"3. Resolved, That by the constitution of the United States, Congress, being invested with power to declare war, and grant letters of marque and reprisal, to make rules concerning captures on land and water, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, and to make rules for the government of the land and naval forces, has the full and complete war-making power of the United States; and, so possessing it, has a right to determine upon the motives, causes, and objects, of any war, when it commences, or at any time during the progress of its existence.

"4. Resolved, as the further opinion of this meeting, that it is the right and duty of Congress to declare by some authentic act, for what purposes and objects the existing war ought to be further prosecuted; that it is the duty of the President in his official conduct to conform to such a declaration of Congress; and that if, after such declaration, the President should decline or refuse to endeavor, by all the means, civil, diplomatic, and military, in his power, to execute the announced will of Congress, and, in defiance of its authority, should continue to prosecute the war for purposes and objects other than those declared by that body, it would become the right and duty of Congress to adopt the most efficacious measures to arrest the further progress of the

war, taking care to make ample provision for the honor, the safety and security of our armies in Mexico, in every contingency. And, if Mexico should decline or refuse to conclude a treaty with us, stipulating for the purposes and objects so declared by Congress, it would be the duty of the government to prosecute the war, with the utmost vigor, until they were attained by a treaty of peace.

5. "Resolved, That we view with serious alarm, and are utterly opposed to any purpose of annexing Mexico to the United States, in any mode, and especially by conquest; that we believe the two nations could not be happily governed by one common authority, owing to their great difference of race, law, language and religion, and the vast extent of their respective territories, and large amount of their respective populations: that such a union, against the consent of the exasperated Mexican people, could only be effected and preserved by large standing armies, and the constant application of military force; in other words, by despotic sway, exercised over the Mexican people in the first instance, but which there would be just cause to apprehend, might in process of time be extended over the people of the United States. That we deprecate, therefore, such a union, as wholly incompatible with the genius of our government, and with the character of free and liberal institutions; and we anxiously hope that each nation may be left in the undisturbed possession of its own laws, language, cherished religion and territory, to pursue its own happiness according to what it may deem best for itself.

6. Resolved, That considering the series of splendid and brilliant victories achieved by our brave armies and their gallant commanders, during the war with Mexico, unattended by a single reverse, the United States without any danger of their honor suffering the slightest tarnish, can practise the virtues of moderation and magnanimity toward their discomfited foe. We have no desire for the dismemberment of the United States of the republic of Mexico, but wish only a just and proper fixation of the limits of Texas.

7. Resolved, That we do positively and emphatically disclaim and disavow any wish or desire, on our part, to acquire any foreign territory whatever, for the purpose of propagating slavery, or of introducing slaves from the United States, into such foreign territory.

8. Resolved, That we invite our fellow-citizens of the United States, who are anxious for the restoration of the blessings of peace, or if the existing war shall continue to be prosecuted, are desirous that its purposes and objects shall be defined and known, who are anxious to avert present and future perils and dangers, with which it may be fraught, and who are also anxious to produce contentment and satisfaction at home, and to elevate the national character abroad, to assemble together in their respective communities and to express their views, feelings and opinions."

The speech was often interrupted by bursts of applause; and both at its commencement and its close Mr. Clay was heartily cheered. The promulgation of its sentiments has been attended with the happiest effects, not only at home in shaping public opinion, but in Mexico in influencing her public men in the adoption of temperate and pacific counsels. "It is hardly possible," wrote one of the journalists of the day, "to over-estimate the importance of this step."

From the intelligent and the right-thinking throughout the country a response arose in favor of the sentiments thus boldly announced. The necessity for such a "voice potential" at the critical time is well told in the language of the address of the immense meeting which convened at the Tabernacle in New-York, the 20th of December, 1847, to respond to the Lexington resolutions:

"The spirit now dominant in the national councils, and rampant throughout the land, not only mocks at gray hairs and tramples on the lessons of experience, but regards with impatience and ill-disguised contempt every appeal to considerations of morality, philanthropy, or religion, in regard to the prosecution or termination of the war. The fierce bay of the bloodhound on the warm track of his prey drowns the calm voice of reason and the soft pleadings of humanity. Who that realizes the moral accountability of nations can doubt that we have fallen upon evil days?

"In this crisis a voice from the west reaches the ear and fixes the regard of the American people. A venerable patriot, illustrious by forty years of eminent service in the national councils, emerges from his honored seclusion to address words of wise admonition to his fellow-citizens. That voice, which never counselled aught to dishonor or injure this Union, is lifted up, probably for the last time, in exposure of the specious pretexts on which this war was commenced, in reprehension of its character and objects, and in remonstrance against its further prosecution. At the sound of that impressive voice, the scales of delusion fall from thousands of flashing eyes, the false glitter of the conqueror's glory vanishes, revealing the hideous lineaments of Carnage; and the stern question which stung the first murderer is brought home essentially to every breast which unfolds a conscience: 'Where is thy brother?'—To what end do we despoil and slay our fellow-men guilty of being born two thousand miles southwest of us? By what Divine law are we authorized thus to deface and destroy the image of God?

"The great statesman of the west was too well acquainted with human nature, and had too much experience of its worst developments, to hope that such an appeal as he has made to the nation's moral sense would not be resented and resisted. He knew that exposed Depravity would pour out its vials of wrath on his devoted head; that fell Rapacity would neglect for a moment its prey to tear him with its fangs; and that Malice would stimulate Calumny to hunt and defame him through the length and breadth of the land. Calmly he bared his breast to the storm; unflinchingly he contemplates its fiercest rage, its most dismal howlings. Shielded in the panoply of an approving conscience and of the commendation of the wise and good throughout the world, he professes no resistance, requires no sympathy, solicits no aid. For himself he desires nothing; for his imperiled country he demands the services and the sacrifices of all her upright and patriotic sons.

"And his appeal has not been fruitless. On every side the people, aroused as by a trumpet-blast, are awaking to a consciousness of their duty. No longer sunk in apathy because they can perceive no mode in which exertion can avail, they realize at last that every honorable means should be employed to arrest the work of carnage; and they feel that, in view of the brilliant achievements of our armies and the utter prostration of their foes, the honor of our country can best be preserved and exalted by the exercise of magnanimity toward the vanquished. The means of terminating the war have been clearly pointed out by him who is emphatically first in the affections and in the confidence of the American people, HENRY CLAY; and it needs but that their representatives

shall be faithful as he has been fearless to insure a speedy restoration of peace."

The language subsequently adopted at the meeting at Castle Garden—the largest meeting ever gathered in this country under one roof—was: "Resolved, That we regard the late speech of Mr. Clay at Lexington, in exposure of the causes, character, and objects, of the present war on Mexico, as among the noblest and most patriotic efforts of the great and true man, who 'would rather be right than be President.'"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Mr. Clay in Washington—His Address before the Colonization Society—His Appearance in the Supreme Court—He visits the White-House—Anecdote—The Castle Garden Meeting—Death of Mr. Adams—Mr. Clay in Philadelphia, in New-York, &c.

EARLY in the congressional session of 1847-'48, Mr. Clay was carried by professional business to Washington. His reception there was brilliant and hearty beyond measure. He had declined all public testimonials, but he could not evade the greetings which the people rose as one man to extend. "Mr. Clay's personal popularity suffers no abatement," writes one. "He cannot move without having a throng at his heels. He lives in an atmosphere of hurrahs." The character of his journey to the seat of government may be told in his own language at the meeting of the American Colonization Society in January, 1848, in the hall of the House of Representatives:

"I have just terminated," he said, "a journey of considerable length and arduousness, performed in mid-winter, and surrounded at every place where I have stopped by throngs of friends, leaving absolutely no leisure whatever for that preparation which ought always to be made before a man presents himself to address so respectable and intelligent an audience as this. I come before you without a solitary note, and with very little mental preparation of any sort; absolutely with no preparedness for an elaborate address."

We have already alluded to Mr. Clay's efforts in the cause of the Colonization Society. The report that he was to speak at their annual meeting called forth one of the largest assemblages ever convened in the Capitol. Every nook and corner in the hall of the House was crowded, and hundreds of anxious attendants were disappointed in obtaining admission. Mr. Clay showed no abatement of intellectual vigor or patriotic ardor. Experience had fully demonstrated the wisdom of those views to which he had given utterance almost half a century before. Time had shown that his Colonization scheme, like his Protective policy, was founded in justice and benevolence, and bore in itself the germ of future blessings. It had been opposed by the apathy of southern advocates of slavery, and by the perverse hostility of northern professors of philanthropy; in the words of Mr. Clay, "it had been surrounded by difficulties, and beset by enemies in front and in rear, and on both flanks. The abolitionists have assailed it, as well as those of the opposite extreme." But in spite of all obstacles, it has grown, as truth must ever grow, though slowly, yet surely.

Mr. Clay alluded to the fact that about thirty years ago, the Rev. Dr. Finney, of New-Jersey, and others with him met in that hall, and consulted and agreed upon the great principles of the foundation of the society. Of that number Mr. Clay was one. At first they did not intend to do more than to establish a colony on the coast of Africa, to which the free people of color in the United States might voluntarily and with their own free consent, without the least restraint, coercion, or compulsion, proceed and enjoy untrammelled those social and political privileges which under the circumstances of the case they could not enjoy here. The founders saw, what is now manifest in the country, that the people of color and the white race could not possibly live together on terms of equality. They did not stop to inquire whether this state of things was right or wrong. They took the *fact* of impossibility for these two races to live together in equal social conditions, and proceeded to operate upon that fact, without regard to the question whether the fact arose from an unworthy prejudice, that should be expelled from our breasts, or whether it was an instinct for our guidance. The simple object was to demonstrate before the world the practicability of establishing a colony of free blacks in Africa.

Utopian and impracticable as the Colonizationists believed the purposes of the Abolition movement to be—to emancipate without a moment's delay the whole of the black race in the United States—they did not interfere with it in any way. Their object was to demonstrate the practicability of Colonization. *That demonstration has been made.*

But it has been urged that this is the country of the black man, and therefore he should not be sent to Africa, which is not his country. In some sense, those blacks who have been born upon the soil may claim this for their country; and so could the Israelites claim Egypt for their country, because during a long period of time they were captives in Egypt. So could all the Israelites born in the wilderness during their progress from Egypt to the promised land, claim the wilderness for their country; but still in contemplating the beam which guided the progress of that most remarkable of all the families of man, neither Egypt nor the wilderness, but Canaan, was their home, and to that home they were finally led. Who, then, can doubt, in a solitary instance, that Africa is the real home of the blacks, though they may have had a casual birth upon this continent? And who can fail to see that native missionaries will be the most effective for the conversion of their African brethren, who are of the same blood with themselves, and with whom they can completely harmonize in all their interests, sympathies, and affections? At this moment there have been four or five thousand colonists sent to Africa, and we have heard that there are in the republic of Liberia twenty-five places of public worship, dedicated to the same Lord and Savior whom we worship, and that thousands of the natives are rushing into the colonies in order to obtain the benefits of Christian education and a knowledge of the arts.

With regard to the argument that it is impossible to transport to Africa all the free people of color in the United States, Mr. Clay remarked: "Why, gentlemen, if I am not mistaken, there comes yearly into the single port of New-York an immigration

amounting almost to the annual increase of the population in that city, and perhaps exceeding the annual increase of all the free people of color in the United States. And this is done voluntarily, upon the great motives of all human action. Thus, the German and Irish immigrants flock to our shores annually, with no inconsiderable aid on the part of their governments and with no individual aid, in numbers equal perhaps to the annual increase of all the Africans in the United States, bond and free. These all come to our country in obedience to one of the laws of our nature—in pursuance of the great controlling principle of human action, and which enters into all great enterprises: they come here to better their condition; and I hope they will better their condition. And so it would be with all our free people of color. Were they to be transported from the United States to Africa, would not their condition be physically, morally, socially, and politically, better and happier than anything which they could attain to or hope for here. It is in vain to attempt to eradicate the feeling which keeps asunder these two classes. It is in vain for the office of Philosophy or Humanity to attempt what is so utterly impracticable as joining together those whom God himself, by the difference of color and various other distinctions, perhaps, has declared ought to be separate. [Cheers.] Then, to send them to Africa—not by violence, not by coercion, not against their will, but with their own full consent—let me say to Abolitionists and to those on the other extreme—to all men—why should not the free colored race residing among us have the option to go to Africa or remain in the United States?"

Mr. Clay compared the growth of the colony of Liberia with that of Jamestown and Plymouth. The ravages of disease had been much less in the instance of the former. Its growth, too, had been encouraging in comparison. It should be in this case as in all other settlements in new countries. There should be forerunners—pioneers—who will prepare the way, raise subsistence, build houses, make places of comfort and convenience for those who are to follow them; otherwise they may be thrown upon the shores of the continent of Africa to suffer. Better to proceed according to the laws of Nature herself—slowly, surely, and so, carefully measuring every step that we take.

Mr. Clay related a case illustrative of the increased rigor of the laws against the black population in some States of the south, so that emancipation is prohibited. "In the State of Alabama, a respectable and kind gentleman, whom I never saw in my life, devised to me in his will some twenty-five or thirty slaves, without any intimation as to the cause or motive of the bequest. I was surprised at this, but had some reason to believe, in consequence of my connexion with this society, that the generous deviser had confidence in me, and that I would send them to Liberia. Accordingly I took measures to accomplish the object of their colonization, and have been happy to learn since I came to this city that twenty-three of them have actually embarked at the port of New-Orleans for that colony, and the remainder will follow as soon as they are ready. Now, what would have been the condition of these poor creatures but for the existence of the Colonization Society? They could not have been freed in Ala-

bama, for the laws of that State prohibit emancipation—in consequence, no doubt, of the imprudent agitation of this subject at the north. I had to take them to New-Orleans as my slaves, and they were regarded as my slaves until they got out of the jurisdiction of the United States."

Here, then, appears the object of the Colonization Society—that of affording individuals, as well as States who may have the control of free people of color and slaves which they may wish to emancipate, the opportunity of gratifying their wishes, by offering them a transportation to the shores of Africa. The Abolitionists, by their opposition to colonization, have but riveted more firmly the chains of slavery.

"I would now implore all parties," said Mr. Clay in conclusion—"I would beseech the Abolitionists, and I would beseech all those who hold the doctrines of the opposite extreme, insisting upon the institution of slavery—I would beseech all men to look calmly and dispassionately at this great project which commends itself to their friendly consideration—I would beseech them to discard their prejudices, and ask them in the name of that God under whose smiling providence I verily believe this society has thus far been conducted and will in future continue, to look and contemplate for a moment this experiment of twenty-five years' continuance, which, without power, without revenue, without any aid except what has been furnished by the charity of men, has carried on a war—not an aggressive, but a defensive war—and transported to Africa between five and six thousand emigrants from the United States. I would ask you to look at the territory which we have acquired: three hundred and twenty miles of coast on the west of Africa, and in every port of which the slave-trade has been suppressed!"

Then there were the great objects of civilization—the benefits of the arts to be extended to the native Africans—the propagation of Christianity. "On, then, gentlemen—go on," said Mr. Clay—"in the name of the cause. I shall soon leave you and this theatre of action for ever; but I trust that the spirit which led to the formation of this society will survive me, and that, in other hands and under other auspices, this Colonization Society of ours may be still found asserting its sufficiency, in co-operation with the republic of Liberia, to transport to that region every free person of color who may be disposed to go there. until, I trust, the separation of the two races shall be at last completed, and other generations shall have sprung up to invoke—as in closing I now do—upon the noble cause of colonization the blessings of that God whose smile, I think, has been hitherto extended to it."

Mr. Clay sat down amid peals of applause and the hearty approbation of his audience, if we may except a few ultraists of both sides. Indeed, as Mr. Clay always takes the rational, the practicable, the just, and the conservative view of affairs, ultraism of all kinds is generally found ranged among his opponents.

The speech before the Colonization Society was followed, on the 11th of February, 1848, by his appearance in the Supreme Court room as one of the counsel in the case of William Houston and others *versus* the City Bank of New-Orleans. "At an early hour," says a correspondent, "the avenues leading to the Capitol were thronged with crowds of the

aged and young, the beautiful and gay, all anxious to hear—perhaps for the last time—the voice of the sage of Ashland. On no former occasion was the Supreme Court so densely packed—every inch of space was occupied, even to the lobbies leading to the Senate. Mr. Clay rose a few minutes after eleven o'clock, the hour at which the court is organized. It has been often said, and truly, that he never was and never could be reported successfully. His magic manner, the captivating tones of his voice, and a natural grace, singular in its influence and peculiarly his own, can never be transferred to paper. To realize their charms, he must be seen and heard. His exordium was in every way becoming and appropriate. He referred with feeling to the first time on which he appeared before that tribunal—not one of those who then occupied seats on the bench remained. But it was a grateful reflection, that amid all the political shocks to which the country had been subjected, the Supreme Court had maintained its elevated name, its dignity, and its purity, untouched and unsuspected. He then proceeded to the argument of the cause. By the common consent of the court and the immense and enlightened audience, comprising some of the foremost minds of the nation, Mr. Clay exhibited as much vigor of intellect, clearness of elucidation, power of logic, and legal analysis and research, as he ever did in his palmiest days. Much was expected from him, but he more than realized every expectation. It was no display of oratorical powers, but a sound and strict argument, adapted to the cause and to the court."

"In his exordium," says another of his hearers, "we discern a subjective beauty, and a fitness to the peculiarity of the occasion, which rendered it eminently impressive. Involving, as it did, affecting recollections of the past, as contrasted with the present, it had in it a quality of tenderness, rendered more intense by the mellow tones of that wonderful and variable voice which Mr. Clay possesses, and which, however firm for a septuagenarian, is beginning to be touched with the tremulousness of age. The fact to which he alluded was, that he was now before an entire new bench of Judges, as compared with that in whose presence he years ago made his first legal argument. A striking fact! reminding the aged and venerable advocate of his own decline, and the Judges of their hastening destiny."

Changing the tone of his remarks, Mr. Clay replied to the gentleman, the Hon. John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, who had complained of the speed which had characterized the proceedings of counsel for the plaintiffs. Mr. Clay advocated the importance of giving honorable haste in all legal matters, and, in this connexion, described the following scene:

"I happened, some years ago, in the performance of a public service, to be abroad in England, and I occasionally attended both houses of Parliament, and the courts in Westminster hall. Sir, if in contemplating those great assemblies, and those learned tribunals, I had anything to regret, upon a comparison between them and our own, of what I have witnessed when in that country, it was not that there was less eloquence or less ability displayed, either in Parliament, when great and momentous subjects were brought before that body, but that there was a greater economy of time. The speakers there would begin with their subject, and would

end when the subject was exhausted. But, sir, when I went into either apartment of Westminster hall, where I attended, as I did once or twice, the court sitting in bank, I was there impressed still more with the economy of the despatch of business.

"I entered the court-room, I remember, very early one morning. Their lordships, the judges, were clothed with the gowns like your honors, but that was the only analogy between your honors and them, for they wore, also, their flowing wigs, falling upon their shoulders. While there, there were no sparkling eyes, no bewitching smiles, no female forms; the whole room—and I think, may it please your honors, it was not larger than the half of this—contained only the judges and officers of the court; and a host of gentlemen of the legal profession. Upon the first seats the elder members of the bar, the sergeants at law; and upon the seats behind, the other members of the bar, all clothed in black gowns. Well, after the tip-staff had pronounced the introductory 'God save the king,' his lordship asked the oldest sergeant, 'Have you any motion to make?'—'Yes, please your lordship; I have a case in which I wish to establish this point,' naming the point. 'Why,' said his lordship, 'you cannot maintain that.'—'But,' said the sergeant, 'I only wish to quote a few authorities.'—'It is of no use,' said his lordship, turning to his notes, 'the proposition cannot be maintained;' and the same observation was echoed along the line of judges, and the case was dismissed in less time than it takes me to describe the incident."

Mr. Clay insisted upon the importance of speed in legal matters, and created a laugh, even among the honorable judges, by speaking of a certain tradition illustrating the length of speeches which are said to have been made by *Philadelphia lawyers*. He did not mean to convey the idea that the lawyers of the brotherly city were not learned and highly honorable men, for he remembered with the greatest respect the Dallahses, the Lewises, and the Ingersolls of that city; but he did mean to say that they had a passion for *long* speeches. With regard to the delays which occurred in our courts of justice, he thought the lawyers themselves were generally at fault, though it was sometimes the case that the judges were not quite as prompt as they might be. He spoke of the one-hour rule which prevailed in another chamber of the Capitol, and suggested that the present court might gather therefrom a salutary lesson.

At this stage of his remarks, Mr. Clay entered upon a statement of the case under consideration; and his argument is represented to have been "brilliant in the extreme, sound, graphic, clear, and persuasive; while his voice and manners were more like those of a lawyer in the early prime of life than of a patriarch in his profession."

During his sojourn in Washington, Mr. Clay dined on one occasion with Mr. Polk. "It is likely," writes a correspondent, "you have heard of his remark to Mrs. Polk. He observed with infinite grace, that he had never heard of anybody who complained in the least of *her* administration, though he had occasionally heard *some* complaint of her husband's. What a primrose path is Mr. Clay's! Clothe him never with 'saddest cypress.' Let the almond and myrtle wave over his grave!"

The fourth Monday in May, and the 7th of June, having been fixed upon by the administration party and the whigs respectively for their conventions for the nomination of presidential candidates, meetings

began to be held throughout the country, at which strong preferences for Mr. Clay were enthusiastically expressed. Many good Whigs thought it more expedient to put up General Taylor; and discussions, which the future only could decide were entered upon, generally with candor and in a good spirit. New York proclaimed herself for Clay in a mass meeting at Castle Garden, believed to be not less than ten thousand strong. "But its numbers," said the Tribune, "vast as they were, were but a single element of this immense meeting. In character, intelligence, order, and dignity, we doubt whether an assemblage more deserving of respect was ever seen. Although the deep and ardent enthusiasm for CLAY would frequently burst out in cheers like thunder-peals, especially at every allusion to our great leader's name, yet no word (that we heard) was uttered or sentiment evinced disrespectful to his rivals, and when Mr. White spoke of General Taylor as a gallant and able commander, the expression was warmly responded to, despite the unanimous feeling that HENRY CLAY was the man for president. Of course, when Mr. CLAY's name first occurred in the address, there were such demonstrations of delight as only failed to bring down the roof above us, and the allusion to his Lexington speech was received with hardly less enthusiasm. The resolution pledging the Whigs of New York to abide and sustain the choice of the Whig national convention was most heartily responded to. And when Mr. Selden appealed to all present, and especially to the reporters, to say whether they ever saw a larger, more unanimous, more enthusiastic meeting, he called attention to a truth which not even the most inveterate adversary could venture to gainsay."

We wish we could give at length the proceedings of this animated meeting. But our limits forbid. Henry Grinnell, Esq., presided, and N. B. Blunt, Esq., presented the address and resolutions. From the former, we make the following fragmentary quotations:

"Mexico lies bleeding and prostrate at our feet. Our national honor, if ever assailed, has been fully vindicated. Vengeance has been sated with blood and carnage. We can at least afford to be magnanimous. For what purpose—to what end—is the war to be further prosecuted? If for conquest: we deny the right to continue the war for such a purpose. If for indemnity: it has already been tendered. The truth is, stripped of all false coloring, the war has assumed a new and distinct form. Territory—the extension of the so-called 'area of freedom.'—a rapacious spirit of plunder—the spoliation of a weak and fallen enemy—constitute the sole grounds for a further continuance of the conflict. It can and must be terminated. Human blood must cease to flow. The cause of humanity, the honor of the country, the welfare of the people, justice and religion, imperatively demand that the contest should end. * * * First and foremost among the many true patriots and statesmen who have raised their voices and interposed their exertions to stem this flood of injustice and to restore the current of public opinion to its wonted channel, stands the name of HENRY CLAY, of Kentucky. He needs no eulogium at our hands—his deeds are written in the chronicles of his country's glory. Pre eminent as he has been in the cabinet, in the halls of legislation, and the field of diplomacy—the moral courage, the self-devotion, and the calm sagacity, displayed in his memorable speech at Lexington, form the crowning act in a life well spent in the service of his country, and designate him as the MAN upon whose counsels and

wisdom all may rely. We, therefore, the Whigs of New York, do hereby nominate and do earnestly recommend to the Whigs of the Union, HENRY CLAY, as our CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES."

The Hon. Joseph L. White, the Hon. Dudley Selden, and Horace Greeley, Esq., addressed the meeting in eloquent and appropriate terms. "I believe," said Mr. Greeley, "that in the last election we could not have been beaten but for the unfortunate panic which broke out among our fellow-citizens of foreign birth, who feared that if the Whigs should succeed they would be disfranchised, and even forbidden to live on this soil. The election of James K. Polk was thus effected by fair votes and foul. Now, fellow-citizens, one month before or after the election, Mr. Polk could not have been elected, and he or somebody not unlike him will be the candidate opposed to us again. Under these circumstances Mr. Clay is the proper exponent of our principles and candidate of our party; he is the man who would have prevented the annexation of Texas and the war with Mexico; he is the man who was defrauded out of his election before. Now let the people have an opportunity to retrieve their error; and I believe they will rush to his standard with unexampled enthusiasm. Let the Whig banner float with the name of our tried and loved leader inscribed upon it, and I am confident that it will be borne onward to a signal and beneficent triumph."

A letter from the Hon. John M. Botts of Virginia, addressed to the editor of the Richmond Whig, was read at this meeting and published with the proceedings. The following extracts, illustrating as they do the conflict in sentiment among whigs previous to the election of 1848, will be read with interest in connexion with the political history of Mr. Clay:

"If General Taylor is a 'no party candidate,' which is the only position he has yet assumed, then I am not of his party, for I am a *party man*, and that party is the Whig party. I have nothing to ask, and I want nothing, of Mr. Clay or General Taylor, or any other executive, and I will not do what I would regard as a surrender of my principles, to make any man president; and, therefore, I cannot advocate the nomination of a gentleman who has never filled a political position, who comes fresh from the tented field, heralded only by his military achievements, and whose political views are carefully concealed as well from his friends as his opponents.

"Let me ask one question: if General Taylor is elected as a 'no party' candidate, will he prove a 'no party' president? If he should, then he will not suit me or any other Whig. If not, would he not disappoint those who elected him? If a majority of the people are so dissatisfied with the principles and measures of both the great parties of this country as to elect a president belonging to neither, could he select a Whig cabinet and adopt Whig measures without a betrayal of the trust confided to him by those who elected him?—or, in other words, if he is elected upon the ground that he will not avow himself a Whig and commit himself to Whig policy, would he not be as fully justified in selecting a Loco-Foco as a Whig cabinet—and in adopting Loco-Foco as Whig policy?

"I have reason to believe Mr. Clay has lost no strength in those states that he carried in 1844, and that he is greatly strengthened in many that he then lost—especially in New York, which our friends assure us is beyond the possibility of a doubt—to say nothing of New Hampshire [of which many of our friends are confident], Georgia, Indiana, Louisiana,

together with Pennsylvania, which may be carried by selecting a suitable man to place on his ticket—say either Scott or Clayton. With these views, I shall do as I believe my constituents would do, not give him up for any man of doubtful principles and of more doubtful success.

"When I say I feel confident that Mr. Clay can be elected, I know I shall be answered—'*so you thought in '44.*' True, I did—so did we all; but that is no reason we should be deceived again—it is, on the contrary, the best reason why we should not be. I am only rendered the more cautious in my calculations by that unexpected and disastrous defeat.

"He will not only *not* have the catholic excitement, the foreign influence, the Native American party, the annexation of Texas, &c., &c., to operate against him, but they will all work in his favor, and most of all, this wicked and horrible war, and the ruinous condition of the country, which will be plainly spread before every man's eyes before the election comes on, will swell his triumph. In my belief, beyond all calculation that his most sanguine friends have yet made—and if the Whig party are sincere in their expression of preference for him, my advice to them is, to hold on to him as their only sheet-anchor, for the conservative principles of Whiggery.

"At all events, let us await the action of a National Convention. It will be time enough for us who prefer him, to give up Mr. Clay, when the Whigs of the Nation, in grand council assembled, shall recommend General Taylor to us as a proper and more available candidate."

What gave added interest to the great Castle Garden meeting was the fact that it was held on the anniversary of the day when the news of the treaty of Ghent was received at New York. Thirty-three years before the British sloop-of-war *Bramble* had come into the bay, and "just as twilight was deepening into darkness, a pilot boat came up to Whitehall announcing her arrival with the tidings that PEACE had been made at Ghent by HENRY CLAY and his associates in that memorable commission."

On Monday, the 22d of February, at half past one o'clock, the venerable John Quincy Adams, then in his eighty-first year, while in his seat in the House of Representatives, was stricken down by paralysis, and borne to the Speaker's room in the Capitol. It had been the earnest wish of his heart to die like Chatham in the midst of his labors, and that wish was accomplished literally. "This is the last of earth—I am content!" was the last memorable sentence that he uttered. The expiring statesman was placed on a cot-bed, with his head toward the west. In this condition, breathing calmly, except at intervals, and manifesting no signs of pain, he lingered, for the most part insensible, for fifty-four hours. While he lay in this state Mr. Clay visited him, and for some minutes held the hand of his speechless and unconscious friend in silent grief. Look at that spectacle, ye who still attach any credit to the vile slander against those two noblest Americans, that there was a bucksterning bargain between them for the sale of the Presidency! Clay takes the hand of the dying Adams—of the mighty man and the ancient, the eloquent counsellor, the incorruptible patriot, the laborious and brave-hearted statesman, the truly honest man! Who can doubt, that could he have spoken, the "old man eloquent" would have said of those charges against Mr. Clay, as he said of them in 1843: "As I expect shortly to appear be-

fore my God to answer for the conduct of my whole life, should those charges have found their way to the throne of eternal justice, I will, in the presence of Omnipotence, pronounce them false!"*

The physician had told Mr. Clay that Mr. Adams might linger for a week or more. Mr. Clay had professional business in Philadelphia, which claimed his early attention. His friends, too, had made arrangements for his reception. Thousands, who had been expecting him, would be awaiting him on his way. Under these circumstances he did not feel justified in disappointing public expectation. Two hours after his departure from Washington, Mr. Adams died; but it was not till he was on his journey from Baltimore to Philadelphia that Mr. Clay received the sad intelligence.

He arrived at Baltimore the evening of the 24th, and was received at the railroad-dépôt by an immense crowd. Arrived at the residence of his friend Christopher Hughes, the crowd, which had followed on, congregated in front of the dwelling, and, amid constant and loud cheers, called for Mr. Clay to make his appearance. After a short delay an upper window was thrown open, and Mr. Clay made his appearance, greeted by tremendous cheering. When silence was with difficulty restored, he said—

"Gentlemen, I want to know what you are making all this noise about."

"We wanted to see you," and loud cheers, was the response.

A voice in the crowd.—"You are that same old coon yet!"

Mr. Clay.—"Exactly: I am that same old coon." Loud cheers again, and laughter.

Mr. Clay.—"Gentlemen, now I will make a compromise with you: if you will let me alone, I will let you alone!"

He here withdrew amid the most vociferous cheering, the window was closed, and the crowd withdrew.

Early the next morning Mr. Clay started for Philadelphia, where his reception was again as cordial and brilliant as the most extensive popular enthusiasm could make it. He here became the guest of the Mayor, Mr. Swift. "You are the most unreasonable set of people I ever met!" said Mr. Clay to the immense concourse which gathered in front of the house in the hope of getting a speech from him. "You want something to come out of my mouth, and I want to put something into it. [Laughter.] Will you agree with me on one point—that is, to go home and get your suppers, and let me get my dinner?" [Cheers and laughter.] The crowd then dispersed, after giving "three times three" for Henry Clay!

At a public reception meeting the ensuing Saturday at Independence Hall, Mr. Clay remarked that, "but for the loss that the country has just sustained in the decease of Mr. Adams, this would have been one of the happiest occasions of his life. As it was, the loss of the purest of patriots and best of men had caused a sensation of grief to pervade the whole country; and how much greater than those of others must be the feelings of one who had been closely connected with him, in both public and private life—who had ever found him, at all times and under all circumstances, the pure and elevated patriot—the tried, the faithful friend, the wise and good man!"

* Quoted on page 40.

The loss was heavy to all, but to none more so than the speaker. His heart was so surcharged with the emotions natural to the loss, that he could make no set speech; yet he could not avoid referring to the sad event."

Mr. Clay's visit to Philadelphia was connected with professional business in the settlement of a large estate, of which he was left the executor by a former resident of that city, who died some years before in Indiana. But being so near New-York, he could not well decline the pressing and unanimous invitation of her Common Council to pay them a visit as the city's guest. He left for New-York the 7th of March, encountering there and everywhere the same hearty reception which he had before so often experienced.

The following account of Mr. Clay's reception by the Corporation of New-York, and of his visit in the city, was originally published in "The New-York Daily Tribune," from which it is here taken, with slight alterations. The reception took place on Tuesday, March 7, 1848. The Tribune says:

A more brilliant day for the ceremonies attendant upon the visit of HENRY CLAY to our city could not have been desired. The air was clear and elastic, the skies bright, and the waters of the bay as smooth as in summer. Nature seemed to have decked herself in holiday attire to welcome the illustrious statesman to the commercial metropolis of the Union.

The splendid and spacious steamer "C. Vanderbilt" had been kindly placed at the disposal of the Common Council by Captain Vanderbilt for the occasion. She had been newly painted and refitted for the season just commencing, and, by her beauty and the convenience of her arrangements, was well adapted for the service to which she was now appropriated.

The committee having in charge the duty of meeting Mr. Clay at Amboy and conducting him to the city, had contemplated being accompanied by some two hundred invited guests; but so great was the desire to see the city's illustrious visitor, that at least six hundred persons obtained tickets, and only the impossibility of making room for a larger number prevented a much more crowded attendance. Among those present were the members of the Common Council and many eminent citizens in both public and private life. All seemed filled with that enthusiastic attachment to Mr. Clay which he, of all men, has the power of calling forth and securing. As the "Vanderbilt" put off, she was loudly cheered by the multitude assembled on the wharf, and the passengers of one or two boats that she met in the passage down the bay manifested the same sympathy in the purpose of the excursion.

The boat arrived at Amboy at about half-past eleven o'clock, and, as soon as the cars arrived, the committee proceeded on shore to receive Mr. Clay, with the Philadelphia delegation, and escort him on board. When he appeared, the air was rent with shouts, which were repeated as he passed amid the crowd, quietly bowing his response to the warm expressions of those around him. He appeared in excellent health, and bore himself erect with all the vigor of a young man. His form has lost little of its apparent strength, and his features retain the same manly and noble graciousness which so truly express

the character of the man. He was conducted to the upper saloon of the "Vanderbilt," where Morton M. Michael, Esq., on behalf of the Philadelphia committee, resigned him into the care of our city council in the following address:

"MR. PRESIDENT: The committee which speaks through me have come hither in the behalf of the people of Philadelphia, to transfer to your care the illustrious citizen who for some days past has been our honored guest. He came among us in no public capacity and on no public mission, not expecting any of the gratifications and enjoyments which there may be in loud and earnest expressions of the general regard. He came, rather anxious to avoid all ceremony and parade, and desiring only to meet his old familiar friends in the old familiar way. In this desire, it is scarcely necessary for me to say, it was impossible that he should be gratified. All hearts spontaneously rebelled against such a purpose. The whole people of Philadelphia, animated by one common impulse of affection, poured forth into the streets, thronged the roofs and windows of the houses, till they presented such a spectacle as was never seen before:

'You would have thought the very windows spoke—
So many greedy looks of young and old
Darted through casements their desiring eyes
Upon his visage: and that all the walls,
Painted with imagery, had said aloud,
"Jesu preserve thee—welcome HENRY CLAY!"'

"So it was the next day, so it was all the days that he was among us. So constant, so tireless, so enthusiastic, were the well-meant kindnesses of our people, that I for one was afraid that the object of them would be totally overwhelmed and exhausted. Those overflowing marks of love were such, indeed, as few but HENRY CLAY could have elicited; nay, they were such as hardly any, save himself, could have endured. They came, too, from deeper feelings than party motives: they sprang from those beautiful instincts of our spiritual nature which prompt admiration for whatever is truly great, and noble, and exalted, in man! They showed that men love and reverence those who lift themselves above the meanness and narrowness to which less gifted and elevated natures are prone, and showed that in so doing all must deeply and truly love and reverence Henry Clay. Yes, reverence him as one whose tongue was never tainted with falsehood, nor his soul stained with shame!

"Nor was it the members of his own party alone who thus arose to do him honor, but the members of all parties. All looked to him—all turned to him—all were irresistibly drawn to him, as to one before whom Nature herself could stand up and say to all the world, 'This is a MAN!'

"We should feel a deep pain in thus separating from one we so love; but under a view of the cordial invitation which you have extended to him, and the general desire of all your citizens to have him among you, we feel that you are entitled to some portion of that pleasure which his presence everywhere bestows. We resign him to you in full confidence that you will welcome him as no man could be welcomed but HENRY CLAY!"

Mr. M. Michael's speech was interrupted by frequent applause, and was warmly responded to at the close.

When silence was restored, Hon. Morris Franklin, President of the Board of Aldermen, turned to Mr. Clay and addressed him as follows:

"On behalf of the Common Council of our City and of the assembled thousands, who are now awaiting your arrival in anxious expectation, I am the honored instrument of tendering you a sincere and cordial welcome to their hospitality, and to assure you of a warm and heartfelt reception in the

commercial metropolis of our country. For in the anticipation of this, your visit, every sectional prejudice has been forgotten, and we are united as the heart of one man in extending the right hand of fellowship to so distinguished and illustrious a stranger. You have come among us, sir, not with the gilded trappings of military splendor or the bugle notes of a victorious chieftain; with no public patronage with which to reward your followers, but merely as a private citizen—yet wearing upon your brow as proud a civic wreath as could be entwined by the affections of the American people for one of their noblest and most honored sons. It is therefore, in the sincerity of our hearts, that we anticipate with pleasure the opportunity which you have afforded us of presenting to our constituents one whom all will delight to honor, who in the enthusiasm of their feelings will hail with pleasure that hour when you shall have become their welcome and their honored guest, and they shall have seen the person and heard the voice of him who for so many years has been associated in their recollections with the darkest and brightest days of our country's history. For whether at foreign courts, in the domestic cabinet, or in the halls of legislation, your services will ever be appreciated by a grateful and confiding people, and when this age, with all its partialities and prejudices, shall have passed away, and the future historian shall sketch a faithful picture of the past, your name will appear in bold relief among its noblest and purest sons.

"We the more fully appreciate this visit, sir, because we know that you have yielded to our invitation, not to gratify any ambition of your own, or to build up or establish present or posthumous fame, but to gratify the people of our own city, and to respond to the wish unanimously expressed, that once again they might be permitted to welcome as their guest the statesman whom they honor and the citizen whom they love. For had you consulted only your own feelings, or the dictates of your own judgment, you would have avoided the multitude which you are about to encounter. Sir, we are an enthusiastic people, and while we shall endeavor to consult your wishes so as to render your visit pleasant and agreeable, yet it would be too much for us to promise or you to expect, that quiet and repose which we know you desire and which three score years and ten demand. As well might we undertake to lull the raging tempest, and say to the winds, 'be still!' as to control the excitement of our people when the sage of Ashland treads upon their soil and walks within their midst. But we can and do commend you to Him who controls the destinies of nations, to protect you as in the hollow of his hand while absent from your home, and again restore you to those domestic associations within the family circle—alas, so recently reduced! In retrospect upon the past, or looking forward to the future, you may realize the fact that however situated, whether upon the classic shores of Greece or among the republics of South America, whether pleading the cause of dismembered Poland, or oppressed and unhappy Ireland, the name of HENRY CLAY will remain as a monument of devoted patriotism, from which we and our children may derive lessons of instruction worthy of the philanthropist and the scholar, the statesman and the man! Again we welcome you on board this noble steamer; the mayor will respond to it upon our arrival, and all the people will join in one harmonious shout of 'Welcome! welcome to our homes!'"

When President Franklin had concluded, Mr. CLAY replied as follows:

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Council of New York: I thank you most heartily for this interesting occasion, and thank you, sir, for the sentiments which you have done me the honor of expressing. I wish that I could find language to

convey to you the feeling and the gratitude with which the very cordial and flattering manner of this reception is received. But the truth is, and I might as well own it, that if I ever had any great talent at public speaking, elocution or eloquence, it cannot now be exerted, and for two reasons: one is that my heart is full, and the other that I am myself the subject. And if ever I have exerted any power of eloquence it has not been for myself but for my country. [Loud applause.]

"You have correctly stated it, Mr. President, that this visit was not in accordance with my own wishes. When I left my own residence I was anxious to avoid all public ceremony. Purely private and professional business brought me to Washington and Philadelphia, whence I hoped to return without any further manifestations on the part of my fellow-citizens than the quiet expression of private regard and of personal attachment. But I was met by a different desire on the part of those whose hearty wish I would not refuse, and I have found it impossible to confine myself to the humble course I had marked out. And when I recollected the many obligations which I was under to your city, the pleasure I had derived from former visits to it, and the generous impulse which called me hither; when I heard that party spirit was all laid aside and sectional differences suspended, and above all when I was summoned by the authority of the public council, I felt constrained not to reject so warm and courteous an invitation. The cold and cautious suggestions of the head yielded to the natural impulse of the heart and I came.

"I hope, sir, to have frequent opportunities of meeting with yourself and your associates during my short visit in your city.

"But I cannot part with the committee who have so kindly accompanied me from Philadelphia without some attempt at an expression of my thanks and gratitude, not only for the friendly manifestation which we have just heard from their chairman, and for their discharge of the generous office which is now concluded, but for all that it has been my fortune and happiness to experience while in that city. Sir, the orator and organ of that committee has not too glowingly and eloquently depicted the circumstances attendant upon my reception in the city of brotherly love. I have several times been there, and have received many tokens of friendship, confidence, and fidelity, at the hands of the people. But never was I so welcomed as on this occasion. Never did I receive from any community so many proofs of generous and touching affection. It seemed indeed as if the whole city had come forth to greet me—as if all the houses had discharged themselves into the streets to make toward the visitor every possible manifestation of generous hospitality, esteem and regard. And this, sir, was not from one party, but from all parties—not from a single sex, but from both sexes—not from persons of one age, but from all ages, and indeed, if I may be allowed to say so, from persons of all colors, that I saw during my stay in the city. [Applause.]

"Yes, gentlemen, carry back my warmest thanks to the whole population of your city! Tell them that I feel intensely the countless proofs which they have given me of their affection and esteem. Tell them there is no single spot associated in my mind with a friendship more true, cordial, and whole-souled, than theirs; tell them that my sojourn of a few days among them constitutes an epoch, yes, and the brightest, most cheering, and most glorious epoch in my life. Tell them that never, while my heart retains the power of feeling, shall I cease to be deeply grateful for all their courtesy and kindness! [Loud applause.]

"And now, Mr. President, though I cannot respond to your welcome in the terms of eloquence, I can at least clasp your hand and assure you how happy I am to be once more among my fellow-

citizens of New York, and to meet those who are intrusted with the high duty of directing the destinies of so great and important a city."

During the delivery of Mr. CLAY's speech, the saloon deck yielded to the weight of the crowd and gave way some three inches, and the alarm was given that it was breaking through. Many persons, in consequence, retreated to the lower deck. Mr. Clay, looking around as if to see what was about to happen, was assured by the captain of the boat that there was no danger. "Well," said he. "I like always to know the ground I stand on." Through the whole trip he seemed in excellent spirits, and many genial sallies from his lips were received with loud satisfaction by those surrounding him.

After he had concluded speaking there was a general rush to take him by the hand, but he obtained silence by waving a splendid bouquet, the gift doubtless of some fair Philadelphian, and said, "Gentlemen, you know I am a good deal of a compromise man. I have a compromise to propose to you, which is, that instead of your coming up to shake my hand, I shall go around and shake yours." This was unanimously agreed to, of course, and he descended upon the main deck, exchanging salutations with old friends or new ones by the way. Between High-Constable HAYS and himself a very playful meeting took place; and to whatever quarter of the boat he went, he was greeted with the same hearty cheers which welcomed him on board at first. Finally, after partaking of a lunch, he went upon the hurricane deck, whence, in the wheel-house, he had a fair view of the scenery of the bay on the way up.

On arriving at the city, instead of landing at Castle Garden as had been contemplated, the Vanderbilt was obliged by the state of the tide to land at pier No. 2. From there Mr. CLAY, accompanied by the Common Council, the Philadelphia delegation and a large number of citizens, marched through the muddy streets to Castle Garden. The crowd in the streets and on the Battery was immense, and so thick that it was difficult for the police to make way for the procession to move. As Mr. CLAY passed along he was greeted by such cheers as only the warm enthusiasm of spontaneous hearts can produce.

On entering Castle Garden an impressive spectacle presented itself. The whole of that vast area was filled with people waiting with impatience for his arrival. As soon as he entered he was greeted by deafening cheers, which were repeated until it seemed as if the people would not have done with these proofs of their affection for their distinguished visitor. At last silence was restored, when President Franklin spoke as follows to the Mayor:

"YOUR HONOR: I have pleasure in behalf of the committee of the Common Council, to commit to your charge, together with that of this vast assemblage of our fellow-citizens, the body of HENRY CLAY of Kentucky."

After the cheering had again subsided his honor the Mayor arose and spoke in these terms:

"MR. CLAY: The pleasing duty has been assigned to me as the representative of the constituted authorities of the City of New York, to tender to you its hospitalities—to extend to you a cordial welcome.

"It is not necessary for me—indeed, sir, it would not become me on an occasion like the present—to advert to your many and valued public services. The whole country gratefully acknowledge the zeal,

the devotion with which a whole life has been passed in upholding her interests—in defending her honor—in augmenting her prosperity—and we, sir, citizens of the great commercial Metropolis of this western World, rejoice that we are permitted to testify to you personally our appreciation of the worth, the talents, the statesmanship, and the pure patriotism, which have combined to surround with a halo of imperishable glory the name of HENRY CLAY.

"Our welcome, sir, is not mere lip service, but from the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks.

"We receive you, sir, as the honored, the cherished guest of this great city. Its inhabitants, without reference to *creeds*, or *sects*, or *parties*, have come forth to greet you, and in their name, sir, with all the warmth which words fresh from the heart can convey, I bid you WELCOME."

Mr. CLAY then rose and replied as follows:

"MR. MAYOR: I wish I could find adequate language to express to you and this audience the feelings of a grateful heart, the feelings excited by this splendid and magnificent reception.

"You, sir, know very well from correspondence and information which you have derived from others, that the present visit to your great city, is an exception to the rule which I adopted, and the resolution I had formed on leaving home. Called thence by private and personal affairs, I had prescribed to myself as a rule which I had thought inflexible, not to be drawn off from the direct line of my occupations on any account, or upon any occasion. I had determined particularly to avoid the current of public meetings, and of that affection which I had reason to suppose existed in the bosoms of a numerous portion of my fellow-citizens, in the bosoms too, of many of the citizens of this vast metropolis, famous for its growth and its growing greatness, admirable for the intelligence and the high character of its people.

"But when I received the invitation to visit you, other considerations than those which had first governed me seemed to demand that I should make an exception to the rule, and present myself among you. And when I received the command, for so I am in some degree obliged to regard it, of the city of New York, my hesitation finally yielded to that authority, and I now stand here in the midst of the government of your city.

"But, Mr. Mayor, the president of the councils has told you that he has committed my body to your custody. Sir, that expression could not fail to excite some reflection in my mind and to call up some thoughts and feelings there, an expression of which I feel bound to endeavor to make.

"My arrival here to-day has been signalized by the discharge of cannon, by the display of flags, by the sound of gay and exulting music, and by the shouts and cheers of an affectionate multitude directed toward myself. I am proud and thankful for those evidences of regard, and of value, for the humble services of an individual, whom you esteem far too highly. But, sir, these testimonies offered to the living, could not fail to remind me of the just honors about to be paid to the dead. To-morrow's sun will rise upon another and a different spectacle than that which it to-day beholds, as the venerable remains of the illustrious ex-president of the United States reach this city. Then, instead of the cheers of joy and gladness which have been uttered upon this occasion, there will be the still expression of solemn and saddened feeling. As I contemplate the scene which will be presented on that anticipated arrival, as I recollect the signal services and glorious career of the great departed and the position to which he now has passed—a position which awaits us all—I am moved to suppress the feelings of grateful joy which would otherwise overflow within me on an occasion so honorable to myself. Ought not the contrast between this day's performances—between the joy and gladness this day manifested on the arrival of an humble individual whose efforts in our coun-

try's behalf you much too highly appreciate, and the ceremonies which will follow to-morrow, to make a deep impression on our minds? Ought they not for the few days remaining to us moderate the unworthy impulses which most men bring into the strife of existence?—to repress and diminish the violence of party contests and the heat and acrimony of party feeling, for the brief space which intervenes between the present moment and that moment near at hand when we shall be all laid low in the narrow house which our venerable and pure-hearted Patriot now occupies?

"I hope, Mr. Mayor, that we may profit by this contrast, and hereafter entertain less of that embittered feeling which too often urges us, that we may restrain our ardor in the pursuit of cherished objects in the sense of responsibility which we ought to cherish toward the Governor of all, and in the expectation of that moment which must sooner or later bring us all to the dust.

"Mr. Mayor, I could not pass by this topic, thus suggested to me. And now, sir, will you permit me to thank yourself and the public authorities of the people of this city for this splendid reception and for the kindness and liberal hospitality which you have authorized me to expect at your hands?"

Mr. CLAY concluded, with loud applause from the assembled multitude, by whom he had also been frequently interrupted in the course of his remarks.

The procession was then formed at the Battery, and moved up through Broadway in the appointed order, amid the cheers of the almost impassable mass who had assembled from one end of the street to the other, on this beautiful afternoon, to do honor to HENRY CLAY.

On the next day after his arrival, the funeral procession in honor of Mr. ADAMS took place, and Mr. CLAY who participated in it, received no visits and avoided those manifestations of attachment, which the people seemed universally to be animated with toward him. In the forenoon, however, he visited the Rutger's Young Ladies' Institute, where a great number of ladies were assembled to receive him. He was addressed in behalf of the young ladies by the principal who also read an address to him composed by members of the Institution. From this address, we give one or two paragraphs, together with Mr. CLAY's reply:

"We hail you as the advocate of peace—the richest boon that can be conferred upon a nation.—And while we admire the patriotism that would not spare a well-beloved son in the hour of trial, but endured with calm resignation that the fond object of a father's deep affection should be sacrificed upon the altar of his country's good; still more would we honor that moral courage that manfully maintains the right in the face of the greatest opposition, and boldly condemns the spirit of war and aggression. To such a spirit, cherished and regarded by the nation's rulers, must we be indebted for the blessings of peace in our own highly-favored land; for the extended commerce, and polished society of large and opulent cities, or the grateful retirement, and refining pleasures of the country; but most of all, for the knowledge and understanding of those arts and sciences which more adorn our country than stately edifices, or well-tilled grounds, and our institutions of learning that shall rightly train the youthful mind, and fit the women of America for an elevated station in this great Republic. And to you and men of your principles we look for the diffusion of like mercies in a neighboring nation, whose smiling valleys and fruitful fields have been laid waste by the cruel spirit of rapine and bloodshed.

"And now, dear sir, in conclusion, we would tender our heartfelt acknowledgments of the great

pleasure and honor which your visit has afforded us. The events of this day can never be forgotten by us; the remembrance of HENRY CLAY will ever be indelibly engraved upon our hearts."

"God bless you, and preserve you, and may your path continue to be like that of the revered one whom the nation now mourns—'shining more and more unto the perfect day.'"

Mr. CLAY then replied briefly as follows:

"I thank you, sir, and the young ladies whom you represent for this cordial welcome and distinguished reception. Among the agreeable incidents which attended my brief visit to this city there is no one to which I shall look with more satisfaction and delight than upon my having had occasion to meet in this place the future mothers and present daughters of my country. I did not come here for the purpose of making a speech, but I will however say that I trust that the noble objects which the founder of this institution had in view in its establishment may be fully attained. I trust that the opportunities which the young ladies possess of improving their minds, cultivating their taste, expanding their understandings by the advantages here offered may not be lost, but that they may fulfil their high destinies and render themselves a blessing to their parents, an ornament to their country, and acceptable to that God to whose providence I shall always pray for their prosperity, fame and happiness."

Mr. CLAY having concluded, withdrew, receiving at every step on the passage out of the room the smiles of that beautiful crowd of girls, and shaking the hands and replying to the salutations and good wishes of those who happened to be near enough to speak to him.

On Thursday morning, March 9th, Mr. Clay, in company of the Common Council, drove out to the Institution for the Blind. On arriving, he was received by the Principal, who briefly addressed him, and drew forth from Mr. Clay one of the most felicitous and beautiful speeches that it was ever the fortune of those present to listen to. It was full of pathos and the eloquence of elevated sentiment. This was followed by poetical addresses to Mr. Clay from two young ladies, pupils of the Institute, with which he was highly gratified.

The party then proceeded to the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, where addresses were also delivered. The distinguished visitor was greatly interested in the modes and results of the instruction administered at those admirable institutions.

It was intended to visit the High Bridge, but owing to the severity of the rain the party returned to the city. At six o'clock Mr. Clay dined with the Common Council at the New-York Hotel, and in the evening appeared at the ball at the Broadway Theatre. This was a most brilliant festival. Even the violent rain, which prevailed the whole evening, seemed to have made little diminution in the crowds who were present. We refer especially to the ladies, who were drawn there in large numbers by the desire of seeing the honored statesman of Ashland, who had consented to attend, principally with the desire of gratifying his fair countrywomen.

The theatre was splendidly illuminated, and the stage hung with gorgeous drapery, representing the American colors. Mr. Clay entered about nine o'clock, in company with Ex-President Van Buren, and escorted by the Common Council. He was received with three cheers, and immediately the company formed into double lines, extending the whole length of the stage, down which the distinguished

guests walked, greeted most enthusiastically at every point, and finally took their station at the farther end, where the ladies crowded at once to take them by the hand. Mr. Clay seemed in excellent spirits; his fine eye sparkled with kindly feeling, and the dense throng which gathered around displayed the most marked reverence and attachment toward him.

The next morning, Friday, having been appointed for the citizens of New-York to pay their personal respects to Mr. Clay, he reached the City Hall with his honor the Mayor and the members of the committee of reception at about eleven o'clock. A great number of gentlemen were there collected, waiting for his arrival; they received him with the usual manifestations. As soon as the doors of the Governor's room were thrown open, the crowd began to pour through them: and a steady stream of persons, eager to exchange salutations with the illustrious visitor, occupied all the avenues to the place. It was impossible to obtain admission except by taking a place in the mass and moving with it gradually up the stairs toward the door; and the number of persons was so great, that it must have required nearly an hour for a single individual to reach the Governor's room. We never knew such a large assemblage on any such occasion.

In order that the thousands who had collected outside, finding it utterly impossible to effect an entrance, might not be disappointed in their wish to see him, Mr. Clay appeared on the balcony at the close of his *levée*. After the enthusiastic cheering with which he was received had subsided, Mr. Clay said he had come here with the expectation of shaking all his friends by the hand; he had been undergoing that operation for the last three hours—indeed, ever since he had been in the city. Instead of working twelve hours, even if he had worked twenty-four hours a day, it would not have sufficed; and as he had given all that were in the inside of the building his hand, he now gave all on the outside his heart!

On Saturday morning Mr. Clay received the ladies of New-York at the same place, and many thousands were present. Mr. Clay arrived at the appointed hour, and was received with all the honors by the mass of gentlemen and ladies assembled at the City Hall. The business of reception commenced immediately, Mr. Clay shaking hands and exchanging a pleasant word with all, receiving warmer tributes from some, and now and then carrying his politeness so far as to yield a lock of hair to the longing scissors of some patriotic matron. The ceremony was continued till after the appointed hour, when Mr. Clay was compelled to retire, although many ladies had not yet enjoyed the pleasure of an interview.

On Saturday afternoon Mr. Clay visited the High Bridge, in company with several members of the Common Council, and was highly gratified with the magnificent work. He returned to the city, and was entertained in an elegant and delightful dinner by J. Phillips Phoenix, Esq., after which he attended the performance of the Oratorio of the "Creation," by the Sacred Music Society. He was there much more an object of attention to the audience than the music, and in the course of the evening briefly and felicitously replied to an address from the ladies of the Society.

On Sunday morning Mr. Clay attended St. Bar-

tholomew's church with his honor the Mayor, where an unusually large congregation were assembled. On the way thither he was met by a large number of Irishmen, who thus sought the opportunity of quietly expressing to him the warm feelings which his efforts in behalf of Ireland have roused in the breasts of all her sons.

On Monday morning (says the Tribune) a large assemblage was collected at the New-Jersey railroad-office, foot of Liberty street, to witness the departure of Mr. Clay. A little past nine, he arrived in a carriage with his honor the Mayor and the committee of reception, and was received with loud cheers by the multitude, who not only occupied the street, but the roofs of the buildings about the railroad-office, all eager to obtain a view of him. Just before the ferry-boat arrived at the wharf, Mr. Clay came forward and bowed his farewell to the people, who returned it with cheers, after which he took his seat again in the carriage and was driven on board the boat. As the boat put off, the assemblage again cheered loudly, and so the visit of the veteran and adored statesman to the commercial metropolis was ended.

The committee accompanied Mr. Clay to Newark, where they resigned him to the authorities of that place. He was welcomed there with the utmost enthusiasm, and after spending a short time, went on to Philadelphia, where he remained a day privately, and then returned home by way of Baltimore. The Tribune, in speaking of his visit to New-York, says:

"Mr. Clay has been with us now for five days, and through the whole time has received such tokens of deep respect and enthusiastic attachment as no man but himself could have elicited. We now see how firmly he stands in the affections, not of a few persons or of any particular class, but of the whole people. If there were any doubt before, the fact is now undeniable, that no man lives who is so truly beloved, revered, and trusted, by the people of this city, as HENRY CLAY."

CHAPTER XXIX.

Mr. Clay's Professional Career—Chief-Justice Marshall's Opinion of him—Personal Details—His Popularity, and the Secret of it—Traits of Character—Richard M. Johnson's Eulogy upon him—Mr. Clay's Habits of Life—His Wife and Children—Domestic and Social Relations—Conclusion.

OF such paramount interest have been the details of Mr. Clay's public career, that we have but little room to bestow upon his private and professional history, honorable as it has been to him. We have alluded to his early successes at the bar, but space fails us in the attempt to supply even an imperfect sketch of his numerous triumphant efforts in the sphere of his profession—efforts which have not failed in brilliancy and success with the arrival of his threescore and tenth year.

Owing to the more popular character of his political labors, he has not enjoyed, out of the boundary of the Supreme Court, half the reputation which was his due as a jurist of extensive attainments and profound ability. But the writer has been assured by the late Mr. Justice Story that Mr. Clay was regarded by Chief-Justice Marshall as second in these respects to no lawyer in the country. His arguments always evinced great reflection, and oftentimes ex-

tensive legal erudition; and his appeals were of that generous and elevated character which rejects every aid of a narrow or *pettifogging* cast. We must content ourselves with a mere reference to this department of Mr. Clay's history; referring the reader, for information in regard to it, to the reports and records of the United States courts and the courts of Kentucky.

Mr. Clay is now (1848) in his seventy-first year, and, notwithstanding his varied and arduous labors, tasking his mental and physical powers to an extraordinary degree, and the several periods of dangerous illness to which he has been subject, he bears in his personal appearance the promise of a vigorous, healthful, and protracted old age. In stature he is tall, sinewy, erect, and commanding, with finely-formed limbs, and a frame capable of much endurance. From his features you might at first infer that he was a hardy backwoodsman, who had been accustomed rather to the privations and trials of a frontier life than to the arena of debate and the diplomatic table. But when you meet his full, clear gray eye, you see in its flashes the conscious power of a well-trained and panoplied intellect as well as the glance of an intrepid soul. Its lustre gives animation to the whole countenance, and its varying expression faithfully interprets the emotions and sentiments of the orator. Much of the charm of his speaking lies in his clear, rotund, and indescribably melodious voice, which is of wide compass, and as distinct in its low as in its high tones. The effect of it, when a passion is to be portrayed, or a feeling of pathos aroused, is like that of a rich instrument upon the ear.

Nothing could be more felicitous than Mr. Clay's personal manners and address. They convey to every one the conviction that he is a true man—that there is no *sham* about him and his professions. Frank, affable, natural, and communicative, he was, without assumption, as much at home among European potentates as among his own constituents at a barbecue. His perfect self-possession and repose of manner spring, not so much from long intercourse with the world and with society, as from that indigenous democratic instinct, that true nobleness of character, which looks unaffectedly to the inward man solely, and not to the outside insignia with which he may be decorated.

Never was public man so personally popular in the United States. "The true source of his extraordinary influence," says a writer of the day, "is to be found in that most potent of all human influences, a *true and ready sympathy*. There are no barriers between his heart and the hearts of others. Bring them in contact, and the efflux of his kindly feeling is instantaneous. Instead of sullenly wrapping himself in the thoughts of *self*, he thinks of *others*. His thoughts become their thoughts, and their thoughts become his thoughts. An interchange of kindly feeling becomes spontaneous and immediate. Mr. Clay is not only a strong man in himself, but he possesses the ability to command and carry with him all human agencies and influences which come within the sphere of his action."

In his integrity and uprightness of character, no one who was ever brought in contact with him could fail to place the most implicit reliance. "He is an honest man," says one, who knows him well; "he is a fair-dealing man; he is a true man; he is a man

who believes in his own principles, who follows his own convictions, who avows his own sentiments and acts on them, who never deserted a friend, who was never deterred from his purpose, who was never seduced from what he undertook to do. He is a man of *faith*, in the largest sense of that word. No man has ever been more severely tried in public life in this country; and no man ever exhibited a more sublime manhood in all his great and repeated exhibitions of that noblest of all qualities in a public man—trustworthiness. The nation may rely on him that he is what he is, and that he will do what he says he will do."

"In our opinion the most remarkable mental endowment of Mr. Clay is *his common sense*. He is the most sagacious public man this country has produced, except Benjamin Franklin. His knowledge of affairs seems rather intuitive than the result of experience. We have heard him deliver some of his greatest speeches. We have read them all. His fame as an orator is world-wide. But what is the oratory of those great discourses? No flowers of rhetoric adorn them; no vast fund of acquired erudition enriches them. Mr. Clay hardly ever quotes from books. No elaborate argumentation. What then? The grandeur of an intellect that seems to perceive truth intuitively, united to a pathos as fervent as that of Demosthenes: this is the man, full of spirit, full of sense."

Among the eminent persons who have borne testimony to those qualities which qualify Mr. Clay so worthily for the highest office in the gift of the American people, is Colonel Richard M. Johnson, of Kentucky. We are indebted to the "Richmond Whig" for the following anecdote:

"On the 30th of September last, Colonel Johnson being in Staunton, Virginia, a number of gentlemen paid him the respect of calling to see him. One of the company remarked to him, 'Colonel, when you reach the railroad junction, you will be near the *Slashes of Hanover*.' The honest old warrior's face immediately lighted up with an expression of sincerity and pleasure, and he eloquently said, 'I shall be delighted to see that place. Every spot of ground Henry Clay touches he immortalizes. I have been in public life for forty years, and in that time have been associated with all the great men of the country. Leaving out Madison and Gallatin, who were old men when I first stepped upon the theatre of politics, I will place Jefferson first, then HENRY CLAY. He is a perfect Hercules in all the qualities that can adorn human nature. Some men may excel him in a single quality—for instance, Webster may be a greater logician; or some may be more renowned for deep researches; but take Clay all in all, he has not an equal in the Union, in either the north or south, the east or the west. In moral courage, in physical courage, in oratory, in patriotism, and in every noble quality, he is without a superior. I have been associated with him on committees in connexion with Calhoun, Lowndes, Cheves, Webster, and other distinguished individuals, but Clay was always the master-spirit. We looked up to him as the Ajax Telamon; and by his counsel we were guided in our deliberations. If the rest of the committee assembled before him and were in doubt how to proceed, when he made his appearance all eyes were turned upon him—and we were certain to be right when we followed his opinion. He is a great man—a very great man!'"

As a writer, Mr. Clay will creditably compare with any of the public men of the day. His style is singularly perspicuous, simple, forcible, and correct, evincing a preference for good old Saxon words over those derived from the Latin and Greek lan-

guages. In this respect it is perfectly Addisonian. His instructions to the Ministers sent to the Congress of Panama, his Land Report of 1832, his Report on the differences with France, and numerous documents which emanated from his pen while he was at the head of the Department of State, may be referred to, not only as papers evincing masterly statesmanship, but as excellent specimens of English undefiled.

In his tastes and habits of life, Mr. Clay is remarkably simple and unostentatious. He is an early riser, and methodical and industrious in the disposition of his time. His punctuality is proverbial. He is quite as noted as Washington was for this good quality; which we generally find in the greatest perfection with those who have the greatest consideration for others.

In April, 1799, about a year and a half after Mr. Clay removed to Kentucky, he married Lucretia Hart, daughter of Colonel Hart, a highly respectable gentleman of Lexington. Another daughter was married to James Brown, Esq., afterward Minister to France under Messrs. Monroe and J. Q. Adams. Mrs. Clay was born in 1781, at Hagerstown, Maryland, being four years younger than her husband. They have had eleven children, six daughters and five sons, and a larger number of grandchildren. Four of the daughters died young. Susan Hart, then Mrs. Duralde, of New-Orleans, died at the age of twenty. Ann Brown Clay, born in 1807, married James Erwine, Esq., of New-Orleans; and is said to have borne a great resemblance to her father in her captivating social and intellectual qualities. She died in 1835, the last of the six. The news of her death so affected Mr. Clay, that he fainted on receiving the communication. The affliction of the bereavement was most bitter.

Theodore Wythe Clay, the eldest son, was born in 1802. In consequence of an accidental injury he became deranged, and has been for many years the inmate of an insane retreat. Thomas Hart Clay, the second son, born in 1803, is married and has a family. He is engaged chiefly in the manufacture of hemp. Henry Clay, jr., born in 1811, fell at Buena Vista, gallantly leading his men, February, 1847. James B. Clay, born in 1817, is married and in the practice of the law at Lexington. John M. Clay, the youngest of the family, born in 1821, has also been educated for the legal profession.

The virtues of Mrs. Clay, though of the unobtrusive kind, are not the less admirable and deserving. Her benevolence, her industry, her studious attention to her household and her guests, have been the theme of eulogy with all who have visited Ashland. When General Bertrand, the faithful friend of Napoleon, was there, he was much astonished at the extent and variety of the duties discharged with so much activity and system by Mrs. Clay. Her dairy, garden, greenhouse, pleasure-grounds, and the operations of a farm of between five and six hundred acres, were all under her vigilant and comprehensive supervision.

In his domestic and social relations no man could be more strictly honorable and blameless than Mr.

Clay. The charge has been brought against him by his enemies of having visited the gaming-table. It is admitted that, in early life, Mr. Clay had a fondness for play—not for the sake of the money sported, but for the company and the excitement. He has, on several occasions, given up large sums that he had won, and often saved men from ruin. He has never played at a public table or at gambling-houses. *For upward of thirty years he has not played at any game of hazard.* Never to his knowledge has a pack of cards been seen at Ashland. We mention these facts, not that we suppose that Mr. Clay objects to the recreation of cards, where nothing is staked, but because the grossest misrepresentations and the most exaggerated stories in regard to him, in connexion with this subject, have been made current by his enemies. We have fairly stated the head and front of his offending. Many instances of the justice and magnanimity which he carries into all transactions of a pecuniary nature might be mentioned. But we forbear.

It is with Mr. Clay's public history that we have mainly to deal. The legislative annals of the nation are the sources from which it may be derived. There it stands amply and immutably recorded, through a period of more than forty years. From those magnificent quarries of the past, the materials will be drawn for a monument more perennial than marble or brass. Never were the views of a public man upon all questions of public policy more ingenuously and unequivocally expressed—more clearly and broadly defined. On no one point is there an indication of shuffling—of a disposition to evade or defer the responsibility of uttering an opinion. In contemplating his career, we are often reminded of these lines by the author of "Philip Van Artevelde:"

"All my life long
I have beheld with most respect the man
Who knew himself and knew the ways before him,
And from amongst them chose considerately,
With a clear foresight, not a blindfold courage,
And, having chosen, with a steadfast mind
Pursued his purposes."

Such a man is Henry Clay! And in no one public act of his life does he seem to have been actuated by other than pure and patriotic motives. "I WOULD RATHER BE RIGHT THAN BE PRESIDENT." In that expression we have a key to his conduct from the moment he first entered the national councils; and in that expression we have an earnest of the single-heartedness of purpose with which the affairs of the country would be conducted under his administration. But the Presidency could not add to his fame. The wonder of the wise and the good that he was *not* President, would speak louder in his behalf and be a prouder tribute to his worth than their exaltation at his success. The *absence* of his bust from the triumph will be more noted than its presence could ever be.

Whatever the Future may have in store, "the Past is secure." His name lives in the hearts of his countrymen. His fame is incorporate with the history of the republic. May they both be blended with the highest honor which a free people can bestow!

POPULAR LECTURES ON SCIENCE AND ART;

DELIVERED IN THE

CHIEF CITIES AND TOWNS IN THE UNITED STATES,

BY DIONYSIUS LARDNER,

Doctor of Civil Law, Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh, Member of the Universities of Cambridge and Dublin, and formerly Professor of Natural Philosophy and Astronomy in the University of London, &c. &c.

AFTER Dr. Lardner had brought to a close his Public Lectures in the United States, he was prevailed upon by the Publishers to prepare a complete and authentic edition for publication.—The general interest which, for a period of several years, these beautiful expositions and commentaries on the Natural Sciences had excited, and which was so universally felt and acknowledged, induced the Publishers to believe that their publication would be most acceptable, as well as permanently beneficial, to the American public. In these published Lectures it will be found that the Author has preserved the same simplicity of language, perspicuity of reasoning, and felicity of illustration, which rendered the oral discourses so universally popular. While the Work was passing through the press, and as the different Numbers or Parts were circulated, the Publishers received from all sections of the Union the most flattering encomiums of the usefulness of the work and of the manner in which it was printed and illustrated. It was gratifying to the Publishers to notice the interest taken in the work by MECHANICS. In one workshop in New-York, Thirty of the Journeymen purchased the Numbers as they were published; and, in several large establishments, the workmen formed clubs and purchased the work at the wholesale or dozen price. The number of Lithographic and Wood Engravings, large and small, in the whole series, is 380.

We do not know that we can give a better idea of the work, to those who have not seen it, than by publishing the following summary of the matters treated of in the different Lectures:

LECTURE I....THE PLURALITY OF WORLDS.

Contemplation of the Firmament—Reflections thereby suggested—Limited Powers of the Telescope—What it can do for us—Its effect on the Appearances of the Planets—Are the Planets Inhabited?—Plan of the Solar System—Uniform Supply of Light and Warmth—Expedient for Securing it—Different Distances of the Planets do not necessarily infer different Temperatures, nor different Degrees of Light—Admirable Adaptation of the Rotation of the Earth to the Organization of its Inhabitants—Minor and Major Planets—Short Days on the latter—The Seasons—Similar Arrangement on the Planets—The Atmosphere—Many Uses of the Atmosphere—Clouds—Rain, Hail, and Snow—Mountains on the Planets—Land and Water—Weights of Bodies on the Planets—Appearances of the Sun, &c. &c.

LECTURE II....THE SUN.

The Most Interesting Object in the Firmament—Its Distance—How Measured—Its Magnitude—How Ascertained—Its Bulk and Weight—Form—Time of Rotation—Spots—Its Physical Constitution—Luminous Coating—Temperature—Luminous Matter, &c. &c.

LECTURE III....ECLIPSES.

Lunar and Solar Eclipses—Causes—Shadow of the Earth—And Moon—Magnitude—When they can happen—Great Solar Eclipse described by Halley—Ecliptic Limits, &c. &c.

LECTURE IV....THE AURORA BOREALIS.

Origin of the Name—Produced by Electricity—General Phenomena of Auroras—Various Examples of this Meteor—Biot's Excursion to the Shetland Isles to observe the Aurora—Lottin's Observations in

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LECTURE V....ELECTRICITY.

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Popular Interest attached to the Moon—Its Distance—Rotation—Same Face always toward the Earth—Phases—Changes of Position—Atmosphere—Optical Test—Physical Qualities of Moonlight—Is Moonlight Warm or Cold?—Does Water Exist on the Moon?—Does the Moon influence the Weather?—Mode of determining this—Physical Condition of the Lunar Surface—Appearance of the Earth as seen from the Moon—Prevalence of Mountains upon it—Their general Volcanic Character—Telescopic Views of the Moon—Condition of a Lunar Crater, &c. &c.

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Heat as a Branch of Elementary Physics neglected—Is a Universal Agent in Nature—In Art—In Science—Astronomy—Chemistry—In every Situation of Life—Applications of it in Clothing and artificial Warming and Cooling—Lighting—Admits of easy Explanation—Thermometer—Melting and Boiling Points—Evaporation—Specific Heat—Heat produced by Compression—Radiation—Conduction—Incandescence, &c. &c.

LECTURE XIX.....THE ATLANTIC STEAM QUESTION.

The Project proposed in 1835—Previous Condition of Steam Navigation—Practicability of the Atlantic Voyage not denied or doubted—Report of the Meeting of the British Association at Bristol—Extract from the London Times—Ocean Voyages for Steamers and Sailing Vessels compared—Effect of the Westerly Winds in the Atlantic—Cunard Line of Steamers—The Support received by them from the British Post-Office—Failure of the Project to Establish New-York and Liverpool Steam-Liners—Essay on the Question, "Has Atlantic Steam Navigation been Successful?" &c. &c.

LECTURE XX....GALVANISM.

Origin of the Discovery—Accidental Effect on Frogs—Ignorance of Galvani—His Experiments on the Frog—Accidental Discovery of the Effect of Metallic Contact—Animal Electricity—Galvani Opposed by Volta—Volta's Theory of Contact Prevails—Fabroni's Experiment—Invention of the Voltaic Pile—Napoleon's Invitation to Volta—Anecdote of Napoleon—Decomposition of Water—Cruikshank's Experiments—Davy commences his Researches—Caloric Effects of the Pile—Davy's celebrated Bakerian Lecture—Prize awarded him by the French Academy—His Discoveries—Decomposition of Potash and Soda—New Metals, Potassium and Sodium—Discovery of Barium—Strontium, Calcium, and Magnesium—Rapid Discovery of the other new Metals, &c. &c.

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Ancient Prognostics of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Aratus, Theon, Pliny, Virgil—Recent Predictions—Theory of Lunar Attraction not in accordance with Popular Opinion—Changes of Weather compared with Changes of the Moon—Prevalence of Rain compared with Lunar Phases—Direction of the Wind—Erroneous Notions of Cycles of nineteen and nine Years—Cycle of four and eight Years mentioned by Pliny.

LECTURE XXII.....PERIODIC COMETS.

Encke's Comet—Its Period and Orbit—Motion—Newton's Conjectures respecting Comets—Biela's Comet—Its Period and Orbit—Lexell's Comet—Causes of its Appearance and Disappearance—Whiston's Comet—His Theory—Did this Comet produce the Deluge?—Orbit of this Comet, &c. &c.

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Appearances accompanying Meteorites—Theories to explain them—Shooting Stars—November and August Meteors—Orbits and Distances—Hights.

LECTURE XXV.....THE EARTH.

A difficult Subject of Investigation—Form—How proved Globular—Magnitude—Annual Motion—Elliptic Form of its Orbit—Proofs of its annual Motion from the Theory of Gravitation—From the Motion of Light—The Earth's diurnal Motion—Inequalities of Day and Night—Weight of the Earth—Experiments—Density—The Seasons—Caloric Effect of the Sun's Rays—Why the longest is not the hottest Day—Why the shortest Day is not the coldest—The hottest Season takes place when the Sun is farthest from the Earth—Diurnal Rotation—Form of the Earth.

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The Red Moon—Supposed Effect of the Moon on the Movement of Sap in Plants—Prejudice respecting the time for felling Timber—Its Prevalence—Prejudices respecting its Effects on Grain—On Wine—On the Complexion—On Putrefaction—On Wounds—On the Size of Oysters and Shell-Fish—On the Marrow of Animals—On the Weight of the Human Body—On the Time of Births—On the Hatching of Eggs—On Human Maladies—On Insanity—On Fevers—On Epidemics—Case of Vallisneri—Case of Bacon—On Cutaneous Diseases, Convulsions, Paralysis, Epilepsy, &c.—Observations of Dr. Olbers.

LECTURE XXVII.....PHYSICAL CONSTITUTION OF COMETS.

Orbital Motion of Comets—Number—Light—Explanation of this—Theory of Herschel—Constitution of Comets—Nebulosity—Nucleus—Tail—Comets of 1811, 1680, 1769, 1744, 1843, 1844.

LECTURE XXVIII.....THUNDER STORMS.

Of common Thunder-Clouds—Character and Electric Charge of Clouds—Discharge between the Clouds and the Earth—Mutual Attraction or Repulsion of Electrized Clouds—Characters of the upper and lower Surface of the Clouds—Negative Testimony respecting Thunder from an isolated Cloud—Cases of Lightning from an isolated Cloud—A fresh Case related by M. Duperrey—Of Volcanic Thunder-Clouds—Lightning from the Ashes, Smoke, and Vapor of Volcanoes—Origin—Of the Height of Storm-Clouds—Mode of Observation—Ascending Flashes of Lightning—Minor Limits of the Height of Storm-Clouds—

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LECTURE XXIX.....THE LATITUDES AND LONGITUDES.

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LECTURE XXX.....THEORY OF COLORS.

Refraction of a Ray of Light—By a Prism—The Prismatic Spectrum—Decomposition of Light—Newton's Discoveries—Colors of the Spectrum—Brewster's Discovery of three Colors—How three Colors can produce the Spectrum—Colors of natural Bodies—How they are produced.

LECTURE XXXI.....THE VISIBLE STARS.

What occupies the Space beyond the Limits of the Solar System—Wide Vacuity between this System and the Stars—The immense Distance of the Stars proved by the Earth's annual Motion—Observations made at Greenwich—Bessel's Discovery of the Parallax—Distance of the Stars—Illustrations of the Magnitude of this Distance—The different Orders and Magnitudes of the Stars—How accounted for—Why those of the lowest Magnitude are most Numerous—The Telescope unable to magnify them—Brightness and Magnitude of the Stars in Relation to the Sun—Their Stupendous Magnitude—Application of this to the Dog-Star, &c.

LECTURE XXXII.....WATER-SPOUTS AND WHIRLWINDS.

Character and Effect of Water-Spouts—Difference between Water and Land Spouts—Land-Spout at Montpelier—Land-Spout at Esclades—Columns of Sand on Steppes of South America—Meteors—Land-Spout at Ososval—Conversion of a Storm into a Land-Spout—Water-Spouts seen by Capt. Beechey—Illustration of the Gyroty Motion of Water-Spouts—Action of charged Clouds on Light Bodies—Noise attending Water and Land Spouts—Transition from direct to Gyroty Motion—Effect of Induction on watery Surfaces—Disappearance of Pools, &c.

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Unlimited Divisibility—Micrometric Wire—Method of making it—Thickness of a Soap-Bubble—Wings of Insects—Gilding of Embroidery—Globules of the Blood—Animalcules—Their Minute Organization—Ultimate Atoms—Crystals—Porosity—Volume—Density—Quicksilver passing through Pores of Wood—Filtration—Heat—Contraction of Metal used to restore the Perpendicular to Walls of a Building—Impenetrability of Air—Compressibility of it—Elasticity of it—Liquids not absolutely Incompressible—Experiments—Elasticity of Fluids—Aeriform Fluids—Domestic Fire-Box—Inertia—Matter incapable of spontaneous Change—Impediments to Motion—Motion of the Solar System—Spontaneous Motion—Immateriality of the thinking and willing Principles—Language used to express Inertia sometimes faulty—Examples of Inertia, &c. &c.

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Exhausting Syringe—Impossible to produce a perfect Vacuum—The Air-Pump—Barometer Gauge—Siphon Gauge—Pump without Suction-Valve—Bladder burst by Atmospheric Pressure—By Elasticity of Air—Dried Fruit inflated—Fixed Air—Water raised by Elastic Force—A Pump cannot act in the absence of Atmospheric Pressure—Suction ceases when this Pressure is removed—Guinea and Feather Experiment—Cupping—Effervescing Liquors—Sparkling of Champagne, &c.—Presence of Air necessary for the Transmission of Sound—The Condensing Syringe—The Condenser, &c. &c.

LECTURE XXXV.....EFFECTS OF LIGHTNING.

Effects of Lightning—The Sulphureous Odor developed by Lightning—Chemical Changes operated by Lightning—Nitric Acid formed by the Electric Spark; also, Ammonia and Nitric Acid produced during Thunder Storms—Fusion and Contraction of Metals—Observations of the Ancients—Franklin's cold Fusion—Masses of Metals melted by Lightning—Vitreifications and Fulgurites—Facts collected by M. Arago—Fulgurites—Recent Formation of Fulgurites observed—Mechanical Effects—Instances of the Mechanical Action of Lightning—Action is exerted in all Directions—M. Arago's Explanation of the Effect as due to Vaporization—Decompositions of the Natural Electricities of Bodies—Induction between the Clouds and the Earth—Upward Flashes and Mechanical Effects—Effects of Conducting Bodies on Lightning—Conducting Properties of Metallic Bodies—Lightning passing along Conductors in Preference to Non-Conductors—Protection afforded by Conducting Bodies—Lightning selects Conducting Bodies from among others—Lightning Conductors should descend to a humid Soil—Necessity of Continuity in a Conductor—Effects proceeding from the Surface of the Earth—Ascent or Ebullition of Water—Inundations from Subterranean Sources—Mosaic Account of the Deluge—Electrical State of the Atmosphere Favorable to the Process of Barking Trees—Effect of Thunder on fermented Liquors, &c.—Theory of such Effects—Flame appearing on the Ground—Not extinguishable by Water—Supercooled Clouds not necessary to its Appearance—Stationary luminous Appearance—Lightning rising from the Earth like a Rocket—Flames observed on exposed Points—Luminous Rain—Luminous Dust.

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LECTURE XXXVII.....PROTECTION FROM LIGHTNING.

Danger proportionate to the Magnitude, not to the Frequency of the Evil—Ancient Methods of averting

Lightning—Persons in Bed not Secure, as some think—Augustus's Seal-skin Cloak as a Lightning Protector—Influence of Color on the Electric Fluid—Tiberius's Crown of Laurel as a Lightning Protector

The Danger of taking Shelter beneath Trees—Futility of taking Shelter in Glass Cages—Metal about the Person destroyed by Lightning—Metal Appendages to be laid aside—Part of a Room which is most Safe—Lightning more likely to discharge among a Crowd than on a single Individual—Certain Individuals are comparative Non-Conductors—Thunder-Clouds have been Traversed with Impunity—Thunder-Storms below the Place of Observation—PARATONNERRES, or Lightning Conductors—Sparks—Lightning Conductors drain off the Electricity of Clouds—Frequent Occurrence at Sea—Influence of Elevation of a Paratonnerre—Experimental Illustration—Electric Kites—Captive Balloons—Pointed and blunt Conductors—Quantity of Lightning drawn down by a Conductor—Mr. Harris's Conductors for Ships—Lightning does not always strike the highest Points—Lightning Conductors—Charcoal Beds to receive the Base of the Conductor—Conductors of Metallic Wire—Rope—Conductors for Powder Magazines—Efficacy of Conductors—Artificial Means of producing the Electrical Odor—Chemical Changes—Fusion—Fulgurites—Mechanical Effects—Effects of Conducting Bodies, &c. &c.

LECTURE XXXVIII.....MAGNETISM.

Magnetic Attraction and Polarity—Meridian, Variation—Dip of the Needle—Magnetic Attraction known to the Ancients—Invention of the Mariner's Compass—Discovery of the Variation—Tables of Variation constructed—Robert Norman discovers the Dip—Invention of the Dipping Needle—The Variation of the Variation discovered—Influence of Magnets on Soft Iron—Construction of Artificial Magnets—Magnetism imparted to Iron by the Earth—Laws of Magnetic Attraction discovered by Coulomb—Methods of making Artificial Magnets—Influence of Heat on Magnetism—Changes of the Variation—Advancement of Magnetic Geography—Magnetic Equator—Magnetic Poles, &c. &c.

LECTURE XXXIX...ELECTRO-MAGNETISM.

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(First Lecture.)

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LECTURE LIX.....THE STEAM-ENGINE. (Fourth Lecture.)

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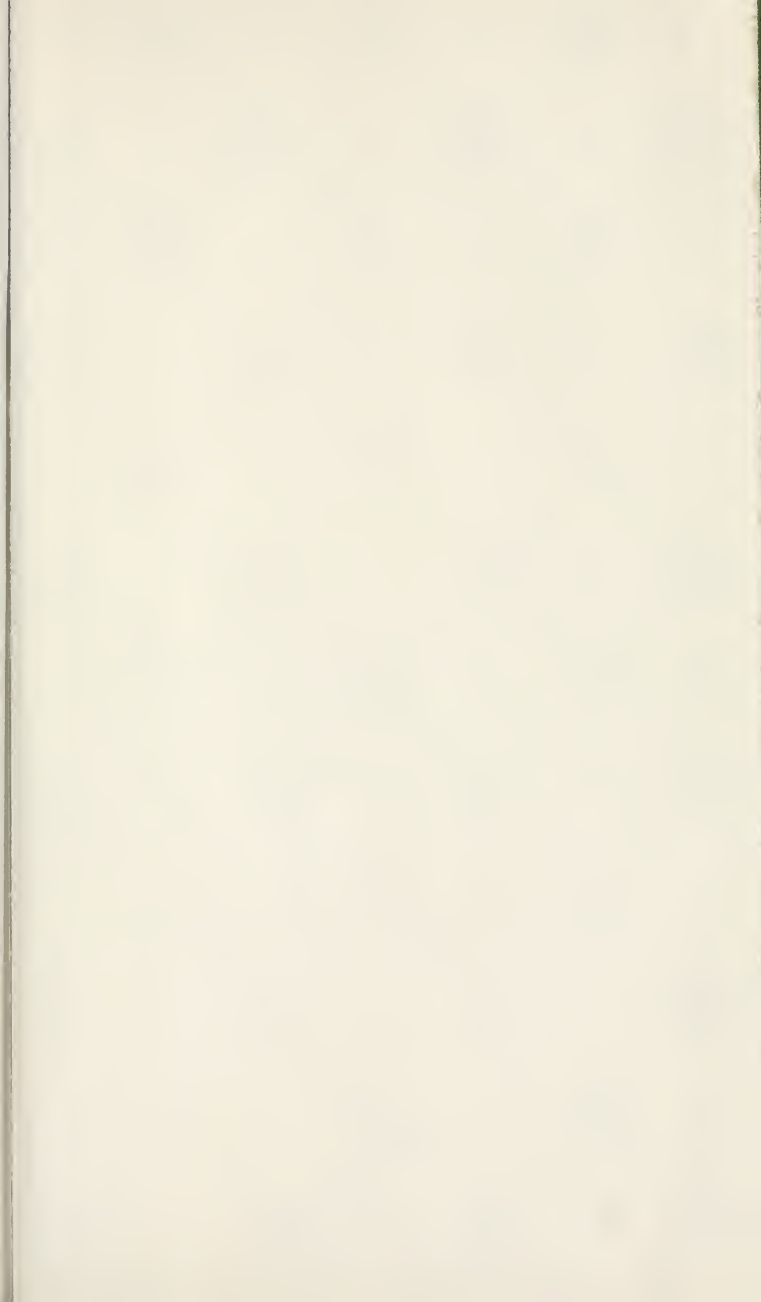
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